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The Commercial Interests of the Great Lakes and the Campaign Issues of 1860

Thomas D. Odle

THE FAILURE OF THE NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION to consider the interests of the commerce of the Great Lakes was one of the factors which explains the western support received by the Republican party in the crucial presidential election year of 1860.¹ The Republican party was an avowedly antislavery organization, but its program was given a much wider appeal by the promises (as recorded in its platform of 1860) of federal appropriations for river and harbor improvements, free homestead laws, and easy naturalization laws.²

Each of these promises was directed to a specific group in the West. The promise of federal appropriation for rivers and harbors was directed to the commercial men of the West, both on the Great Lakes and on the Mississippi River system; the promise of free homesteads was directed to western farmers and to the aspirations of eastern workingmen; and the promise of easy naturalization laws held a very strong appeal to the large foreign-born element in the population of the West in 1860. This latter promise also appealed to the large immigrant group in the population of the eastern United States. In addition, the Republican party in its platform of 1860 mollified eastern manufacturing interests and western wool producers by the promise of a protective tariff.³

¹See the election results by counties shown in map form in Charles O. Paullin and John K. Wright, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, plate 105 (Washington, D. C., 1932).

²*National Party Platforms*, compiled by Kirk H. Porter, 57-58 (New York, 1924).

³Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 58. For further information on the use of these issues by the Republican party, see William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest, 1860," in the *American Historical Review*, 16:774-88 (July, 1911); Richard Hofstadter, "The Tariff Issue in the Civil War," in the *American Historical Review*, 44:50-55 (October, 1938); Thomas M. Pitkin, "Western Republicans and the Tariff in 1860," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 27:401-20 (December, 1940); Donnal V. Smith, "The Influence of the Foreign-Born of the Northwest in the Election of 1860," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 19:192-204 (September, 1932); Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 29:55-71 (June, 1942).

A detailed examination of the grievances which influenced the commercial men of the Great Lakes to support the Republican party in 1860 entails an investigation of the following subjects: the obstructions to navigation on the Great Lakes; the action by federal, state, and local government, and by commercial groups to remove those obstructions; and the political capital which the Whig and the successive antislavery parties (the Liberty party of 1840, the Free Soil party of 1848, and the Republican party of 1854) made of the failure of the Federal government to deal successfully with the problems of navigation on the Great Lakes.

In the period before the Civil War the obstructions to navigation which hampered the use of the Great Lakes as an artery of trade between the East and West were of both a local and a regional nature. The local problems were to be found at every important harbor on the Great Lakes. All of the harbors on the Great Lakes are at the mouth of rivers, except for the natural harbor at Erie; and at the entrances to these harbors, where the river current meets the lake shore current, sandbars are constantly in the process of formation.⁴ Consequently in the period before the Civil War regular dredging was required in order to keep the harbor entrances open to shipping, and if this dredging was not done the commercial interests of the port were apt to suffer.

In addition to the purely local harbor problems which existed at each port on the Great Lakes a regional problem, which affected all the commercial men of the Great Lakes, existed in the navigation of the narrow channel between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. This channel was obstructed by a low depth of water at two points. The more serious obstruction to navigation in this waterway existed at the mouth of the St. Clair River at the point where that river flows into Lake St. Clair. At that point the St. Clair River divides into a number of channels which meander through the St. Clair delta, the so-called St. Clair Flats.⁵ Since the north channel through this delta was the deepest, it was used for shipping until 1858 when

⁴"Improvement of the Navigation of the Northern and Northwestern Lakes, Etc.," in *House Reports*, volume 3, number 316, pages 15-16 (34 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D. C., 1856).

⁵*A Link in the Chain, A Ship Canal between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie*, 26 (Detroit, no date).

the Federal government dredged the more direct south channel and opened it to shipping.⁶

Until 1858 the draught of vessels built on the Great Lakes was determined by the depth of water in the north channel of the St. Clair River.⁷ Usually this depth was about nine feet, but it occasionally dropped as much as three feet.⁸ At such times it was necessary to lighten the cargoes of vessels through the channel, and it was not uncommon for vessels to get "stuck in the flats." The north channel was so narrow that when one vessel went aground all the vessels behind it were held up. This problem became particularly serious during the low stages of water in 1846 and in 1854. In the latter year the number of vessel days lost at the St. Clair Flats amounted to 5,566, and the sum of \$660,126.56 was paid for lighterage and damages by collision.⁹ During the season of navigation in that year vessels often had to wait one and sometimes two weeks in order to pass through the flats. The problem became particularly severe toward the close of navigation when the produce movement was at its height.¹⁰

Although these occasional interruptions to navigation at the St. Clair Flats were serious enough in themselves, an even more serious effect of the obstruction at the flats was the permanent limitation which it placed on the size of the vessels which could be built and operated on the Great Lakes. This limitation restricted the amount of cargo which could be carried and therefore increased freight costs. After the opening of the twelve-foot lane through the south channel of the flats in 1858, vessels could carry larger cargoes and freight rates on grain on the Great Lakes dropped sharply.¹¹

⁶"Letter from the Secretary of War, Communicating a Report of the Colonel of Topographical Engineers, in relation to Lake Harbors . . . January 17, 1843," in *Executive Documents*, volume 3, number 66, page 5 (27 Congress, 3 session) ([Washington, D. C., no date]); William L. Bancroft, "Memoir of Capt. Samuel Ward, with a Sketch of the Commerce of the Upper Lakes," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 21:360 (Lansing, 1894).

⁷*Canadian Sessional Papers*, number 54:37 (1871).

⁸Thomas E. Blackwell, *Descriptive Statement of the Great Water Highways of the Dominion of Canada*, 22 (Montreal, 1874).

⁹Lloyd Graham and Frank H. Severance, *The First Hundred Years of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce*, 44 (Buffalo, 1945).

¹⁰David Wentworth, *Annual Review of the Trade, Commerce and Manufactures of Buffalo for the Year 1854*, 7 (Buffalo, 1855).

¹¹Robert C. Douglas, *Report . . . on the Necessity of Deepening the Welland Canal and on Transportation, Commerce and Canal Tolls, Affecting the*

Another obstruction to shipping on the Great Lakes was also located in the channel between Lake Huron and Lake Erie: at the Lime Kiln Crossing in the Detroit River. The Detroit River is choked with islands, and the deepest channel down the river varies from one side of the islands to the other. Therefore at certain points vessels must cross over from one channel to the other. The Lime Kiln Crossing, so named from a lime kiln which was formerly operated on the Canadian shore at that point, was particularly hazardous because of the swift current and the danger from a rocky ledge known as Ballard's Reef. Several suggestions for the improvement of the narrow shipping lane at this point were made in the period before the Civil War, but since the depth of water at the Lime Kiln Crossing was not so shallow as at the St. Clair Flats action to improve the channel at this point was not taken until after the Civil War.¹²

Another regional problem was the need for harbors of refuge. Navigators on the Great Lakes, unlike their counterparts on the oceans, were faced with a "dangerous proximity of coast, upon which vessels must be thrown in a long-continued gale, whilst on the ocean there is generally room to drift until the storm is over."¹³ This problem was particularly acute on Lake Michigan because of the absence of projecting headlands or islands behind which vessels might find safety when a storm threatened. Furthermore the potential harbors of refuge along the coast, all of them at the mouths of rivers, were blocked by sandbars. When Federal appropriations for harbors of refuge were sought, Great Lakes interests discovered, however, that Congress was often skeptical of the wisdom of creating a harbor where there was little or no commerce. Consequently vessel losses on the Great Lakes, and on Lake Michigan in particular, were heavy, and insurance costs both on vessels and cargoes

St. Lawrence Water-Route to the Seaboard, 8 (Ottawa, 1884); *Report of the Select Committee on Transportation-Routes to the Seaboard, with Appendix and Evidence*, volume 2, page 185 (43 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Reports*, volume 3, number 307, part 2) (Washington, D. C., 1874).

¹²"Laws of the United States relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors from August 11, 1790, to March 3, 1887, with a Tabulated Statement of Appropriations and Allotments. Compiled . . . under the Direction of John G. Parke, . . .," in *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, volume 2, number 91, page 450 (49 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1887).

¹³"Letter from the Secretary of War . . . in relation to Lake Harbor," 3.

were high.¹⁴ This led a Milwaukee merchant in 1840 to express the following bitter words:

The steamboat *Champlain*, the brig *Queen Charlotte*, and four or five schooners, are ashore, and some of them total wrecks and what a pity it is that they were not all loaded with senators and members of Congress.¹⁵

In the period from 1825 to 1838 the policy of the Federal government toward appropriations for the Great Lakes was very generous. Regular, almost yearly appropriations were made for the various harbors on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, and work was also begun at various harbor sites on Lake Michigan. There were no appropriations in this period for the improvement of the St. Clair Flats, but because of the size of the vessels in use at the time there was no pressing need for such action.¹⁶

However the policy of the Federal government toward appropriations for the Great Lakes underwent a marked change in the period from 1838 to 1860. During that period there were eight major appropriations bills for the Great Lakes passed by Congress. Seven of these bills met with a presidential veto. Three of the latter, however, were passed over the veto: the general harbor appropriation of June 11, 1844, the special St. Clair Flats appropriation of July 8, 1856, and the special appropriation of July 7, 1856, for the improvement of St. Mary's River between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. The general harbor appropriation bill of August 30, 1852, was approved by the Whig president Millard Fillmore.¹⁷

¹⁴"Report [of] the Committee on Commerce, to Whom Were Referred . . . Documentary Matter relative to the Navigation of the Great Lakes, and to the Construction and Completion of Harbor Improvements . . .," in *Senate Documents*, volume 4, number 234, pages 17-29 (27 Congress, 3 session) ([Washington, D. C., no date]).

¹⁵"Harbors on Lake Michigan. June 2, 1840," in *Executive Documents*, volume 6, number 236, page 6 (26 Congress, 1 session) ([Washington, D. C., no date]).

¹⁶"Laws of the United States relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors . . .," 451.

¹⁷"Veto Messages of the Presidents of the United States with the Action of Congress Thereon," in *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, volume 2, number 53, pages 181-84, 221-35, 255-57 (49 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1886). During Millard Fillmore's presidency the Federal government in 1852 provided the major portion of a right-of-way and 750,000 acres of land to the state of Michigan for the construction of a canal and locks at Sault Ste Marie.

The four appropriations which failed to pass over the presidential veto were the two general harbor appropriation bills vetoed by James K. Polk on August 3, 1846, and December 15, 1847, the general harbor appropriation bill vetoed by Franklin Pierce on December 30, 1854, and a special St. Clair Flats appropriation bill vetoed by James Buchanan on February 1, 1860.¹⁸ Polk's vetoes coincided with a period of low water on the Great Lakes and resulted in the calling of an impressive harbor and river convention of the commercial men of the Great Lakes which met in Chicago on July 5, 1847. Buchanan's veto of the St. Clair Flats appropriation in 1860 well suited Republican campaign strategy in the presidential election of that year. As a part of this strategy Buchanan was also presented with bills for land grants for agricultural colleges, for the improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi River, and for free homesteads, each of which he vetoed.¹⁹ Aside from the appropriation measures which have been mentioned, there were no further appropriations for the harbors on the Great Lakes until the Buffalo harbor appropriation of July 6, 1864, and the huge general harbor appropriations of June 23, 1866.²⁰

There were several reasons for the marked change in the policy of the Federal government toward appropriations for the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River system following the year 1838. One reason was that the appropriations for the improvement of the navigation of the Great Lakes had begun in the period of enthusi-

¹⁸"Veto Messages of the Presidents," 186-91, 194-211, 266-74; Edmund C. Nelson, "Presidential Influence on the Policy of Internal Improvements," in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, 4:67 (January, 1906).

¹⁹Land grants for agricultural colleges, vetoed February 24, 1859; improvement of the mouth of the Mississippi River, vetoed February 6, 1860; free homesteads, vetoed June 22, 1860. "Veto Messages of the Presidents," 259-66, 274, 281-87.

²⁰"Laws of the United States relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors . . ." 456, 482-87. Emergency appropriations for the repair of the piers at Chicago (\$87,000) and at Oswego (\$30,000) were made in June, 1860. These appropriations were intended ostensibly for lighthouse maintenance, to which James Buchanan had no objections, and were approved by the President. The money was expended on the harbor piers. "Annual Report (for the Year 1860) of . . . James D. Graham, Major Corps Topographical Engineers, on the Lake Harbor Improvements under His Direction," in *Report of the Secretary of War*, 551-52 (36 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, number 1, *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-sixth Congress*, volume 2) (Washington, D. C., 1860)

asm for internal improvements which had been engendered by the successful completion of the Erie Canal. This enthusiasm was brought up short by the Panic of 1837 and the years of depression which succeeded that panic. The Federal government during the depression years after 1837 found it necessary to limit its expenses because of the reduction in federal revenues.

Even before 1837, however, doubts as to the constitutionality of a program of federally-financed internal improvements were being expressed by those who wished to restrict the powers of the general government wherever possible. In order to allay these constitutional objections, Henry Clay, the tactician of the Whig party, first suggested in April, 1832, a plan for the distribution of the Federal surplus revenues to the states. Such a plan was enacted into law in June, 1836; but the disappearance of the Federal surplus in the following year ended the payments to the states. Again in 1841, however, Clay was able to secure the passage of a distribution measure by the inclusion of an amendment which stipulated that the distribution should cease whenever it became necessary to levy import duties higher than the 20 percent maximum provided for by the tariff of 1833. The Tariff Act of 1842, however, exceeded this maximum, and as a consequence payments to the states under the Distribution Act of 1841 were ended within a short time after they had begun. There were no other distribution acts passed in the period before the Civil War.²¹

Another objection to Federal appropriations for internal improvements was the charge that these appropriations were liable to grave abuses which often resulted in the wasteful expenditure of public moneys. It was this view as well as the constitutional point of view that John C. Calhoun, the spokesman for the Southern Democrats, expressed to the delegates of the southwestern convention of Mississippi River commercial interests which met in Memphis in November, 1845.

"It is the genius of our government [Calhoun declared] to leave to

²¹Erik M. Eriksson, "Distribution of Surplus Revenue," in *Dictionary of American History*, edited by James T. Adams, 5:209 (New York, 1942); Edward G. Bourne, *The History of the Surplus Revenue of 1837*, 28-34 (New York and London, 1885). The Democratic party formally asserted its opposition to distribution measures in its platform of 1848. Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 19.

individuals what can be done by individuals, and to individuals and states, what can be done by them, and to restrict the power of the general government to that which can only be effected through its agency and the powers specifically granted. Indeed, setting all constitutional objections aside, it would be improper as a mere matter of expediency to invoke the aid of the general government in the execution of any one object which could be effected by the agency of individuals or states. In a country of such vast extent as ours, local expenditures are liable to grave abuses. They are sure to lead to a system, to use an undignified phrase, of "log rolling" and to terminate in useless and wasteful expenditures of public money.²²

The abuse of log rolling in Federal appropriations for internal improvements referred to by Calhoun had first been struck at by President Andrew Jackson in his Maysville Road veto of May, 1830. Jackson's policy of carefully scrutinizing appropriations for internal improvements was also followed by his successor in office, Martin Van Buren. Several years after Van Buren left the presidential office he recalled this policy in these words:

Among the difficult subjects that occupied the attention of my illustrious predecessor, whilst I was a member of his cabinet, and of myself whilst president, that of river and harbor improvements by the aid of the federal government, occupied a prominent position. Whilst the conviction was general with ourselves and others, that a large class of them was deserving of aid from that quarter, and that it could be extended to them without exceeding the prescribed powers of the government, all were strongly impressed with a deep sense of the liabilities to abuse, to which the legislation of Congress upon the subject was unavoidably exposed. The matter was one of frequent and earnest conference between President Jackson and myself, during the first two years and the whole of his last term. The result was a conviction that no better course could be adopted than to approve such bills as we were satisfied came within the class referred to, and to do all that could be rightfully done by the Executive, to prevent abuses by appropriations for objects that were not entitled to the aid of the Federal government.²³

In furtherance of this policy of carefully examining the proposals for internal improvements on the Great Lakes, Congress on March

²²*Journal of the Proceedings of the South-Western Convention, Began and Held at the City of Memphis, on the 12th of November, 1845*, 11-12 (Memphis, 1845).

²³Cited in Oliver C. Gardiner, *The Great Issue: or, the Three Presidential Candidates; Being a Brief Historical Sketch of the Free Soil Question in the United States, from the Congress of 1774 and '87 to the Present Time*, 148-49 (New York and Boston, 1848).

3, 1841, made an appropriation of \$15,000 for a hydrographical survey of northern and northwestern lakes. This survey was authorized for the double purpose of furnishing charts to navigators on the Great Lakes and of determining the works of improvement on the Great Lakes which were really necessary.²⁴

Despite this attempt to determine the need for improvements on the Great Lakes, a wide difference of opinion with respect to the problem continued to be evident in Congress. As noted above, this difference of opinion was particularly apparent with respect to the need for harbors of refuge on the Great Lakes — a problem which was unique to the Great Lakes and not well understood by those who were unacquainted with the hazards faced by navigators on the Great Lakes.²⁵

Further complicating the question of the real need for internal improvements on the Great Lakes were the irresponsible political tactics employed by the Whig party. Members of the Democratic party justly charged that the Whigs, by including unnecessary improvements in requests for river and harbor appropriations, sought to appeal to the local economic interests of congressmen and thereby to cut across party lines and destroy the unity of the Democratic majority in Congress.²⁶ The members of the Democratic party, because of this technique of log rolling employed by their opponents,

²⁴Annual appropriations were made for this study in the years after 1841, and the United States Lake Survey continues today as an agency of the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army. Corps of Engineers, United States Army, *The United States Lake Survey*, 34-35 (Detroit, 1939).

²⁵The danger of snags and other obstructions to navigation in the Mississippi River could be understood more easily than the danger of the lack of harbors of refuge on the Great Lakes. Senator William S. Archer of Virginia, for example, could see nothing but political jobbery in the requests to create harbors on the Great Lakes where no commerce existed. Archer wrote the executive committee of the Chicago Harbor and River Convention as follows: I have whilst a member of the Senate of the United States, given my vote for the improvement of the Mississippi and its tributaries. I have withheld my vote at the same time, from the [Great Lakes] Harbor bills presented because I had, on every occasion, cause to entertain the belief, that subjects had found insertion in the Bills, by what is denominated log-rolling and jobbing, which had no just title to their place from their intrinsic utility. . . . William S. Archer to Messrs. Judd and others, July 26, 1847, in the *Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 79 (Chicago, 1847).

²⁶*River and Harbor Improvements. Whig Pretensions Exposed. The Best Policy of Our Party Is to Refute Whig Falsehoods with Democratic Truths*, 6 (Washington, D. C., 1852).

were forced to oppose appropriations for rivers and harbors in order to preserve party unity. The Whigs, in turn, branded this necessary opposition to log rolling techniques as a complete disavowal by the Democratic party of the need for internal improvements.²⁷

Although the Democratic party was not entirely opposed to a program of federally-financed internal improvements, its stand on that issue had the practical effect of preventing effective Federal action in coping with the obstructions to navigation on the Great Lakes. As a consequence the commercial men of the Great Lakes were forced to turn to their state and local governments in order to maintain the harbor works on the Great Lakes.

In his veto of an appropriation for the Great Lakes, President Polk on December 15, 1847, outlined his objections to the unnecessary improvements included in that measure and recommended that the state governments levy tonnage duties (which could be applied with the consent of Congress) and use the proceeds to maintain the harbors on the Great Lakes.²⁸ This proposal, however, led Samuel Ruggles, a former New York canal commissioner who was interested in trade on the Great Lakes, to reply that the problem of the harbors of the Great Lakes was one for Federal action. The state governments were unable to use their general revenues to improve the harbors, said Ruggles, because of clauses in their constitutions, adopted after the debacle of 1837, which prevented the states from expending money on public works.²⁹ Moreover, he argued, tonnage duties imposed by the states were an impractical solution:

. . . if the wit of man [said Ruggles] were taxed to devise a scheme utterly destructive of all trade, commerce and navigation upon our waters, a better one than this, of artificially obstructing them by hosts of collectors of tonnage duties imposed by local legislation could not be framed.³⁰

²⁷See Webster's letter to the Chicago Harbor and River Convention, below, page 19.

²⁸"Veto Messages of the Presidents," 199.

²⁹Samuel B. Ruggles, *Defense of the Right and Duty of the American Union to Improve Its Navigable Waters, in a Speech at Constitution Hall, in the City of New York, October 6, 1852*, 16 (no place, no date). For a partial listing of the business connections of Ruggles in railroad and other enterprises, see Daniel G. B. Thompson, *Ruggles of New York*, 39-40, 101-2 (New York, 1946).

³⁰Ruggles, *Defense of the Right and Duty of the American Union to Improve Its Navigable Waters*, 21.

Polk's suggestion for state-imposed tonnage duties was not followed, and the only action taken by a state government to improve the harbor facilities on the Great Lakes was that initiated by New York state in 1851, when the harbor at Buffalo was enlarged and improved. The state kept a careful account of the expenditures, hoping in vain for reimbursement by the Federal government.³¹ Elsewhere the maintenance of the harbors of the Great Lakes became the task primarily of local governments, with the Federal appropriations obtained in 1844 and 1852 furnishing some aid.

The harbor works at Milwaukee were improved in 1852 with the aid of the Federal appropriation of that year; but owing to the inadequacy of the appropriation it was necessary to raise money locally to complete the project.³² In Chicago where, as in Milwaukee, the problem of the formation of a sandbar at the entrance to the harbor required constant attention, the common council raised funds in 1849, 1854, and 1855 for dredging the harbor, with the board of trade directing the expenditure of the fund.³³ Dredging, however, required the use of the government steam dredge at Chicago; and in the summer of 1854 when the board of trade applied for the use of the dredge, the War Department rejected the request. Undaunted, the board of trade seized the government dredge, whereupon the War Department graciously permitted its use.³⁴ In 1858 with the harbor piers at Chicago badly in need of repairs, the government topographical engineer at that port adopted the expedient of using the government dredge to raise sand and then sold the sand and used the proceeds to make the necessary repairs.³⁵

At other ports on the Great Lakes the harbors were also main-

³¹*Memorial of the Canal Board and Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, Asking for the Improvement of the Lake Harbors by the General Government*, 7 (Albany, 1858).

³²Ralph G. Plumb, "Early Harbor History of Milwaukee," in the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, *Transactions*, 17:187 and following (Madison, 1914).

³³*History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, edited by Charles H. Taylor, 1:155, 188, 203 (Chicago, 1917).

³⁴Taylor, *History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, 1:188.

³⁵"Lieutenant Colonel J. D. Graham's Report (No. 230) on the Lake Harbor Works under His Direction, for the Year 1858," in *Report of the Secretary of War*, volume 2, pages 1101-2 (35 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, number 1, *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress*, volume 3) (Washington, D.C., 1858).

tained by the local governments and the commercial men of the ports. All of these local efforts to maintain the harbors, however, depended on the use of the government-owned steam dredges. In 1856 the Federal government maintained five steam dredges on the Great Lakes, but by 1860, because of the lack of appropriations to keep the machinery in repair, all of these dredges had been sold.³⁶ As a consequence on the eve of the Civil War local efforts to maintain the harbors seemed to be on the point of collapse.

The regional problem posed by the St. Clair Flats as an obstruction to navigation on the Great Lakes had also by 1860 assumed alarming proportions. Since 1840 the size of vessels in use on the Great Lakes had been keeping pace with the increase in trade, but by 1860, despite the earlier deepening of the channel, the depth of water in the St. Clair Flats served as an effective limit to the further increase in vessel capacity on the Great Lakes.³⁷

As early as the spring of 1842 a commercial association of the vessel owners on the Great Lakes had begun the practice of marking the shipping channel through the St. Clair Flats with buoys and staking out the channel in the Detroit River through the islands below Detroit.³⁸ Already by that year there were occasions when lightering was necessary at the flats, and the channel was so narrow that the sides of vessels when they passed through were swept by rushes.³⁹ The problem of the navigation of the flats, however, first became particularly serious during the season

³⁶Report of the Chief Topographical Engineer . . . November 22, 1856, in "Report of the Secretary of War," in *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Third Session of the Thirty-fourth Congress*, part 2, page 361 (34 Congress, 3 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, volume 3, number 5) (Washington, D.C., 1856); Report of the Topographical Bureau. . . November 14, 1861, in "Report of the Secretary of War," in *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-seventh Congress*, part 2, page 119 (37 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, volume 2, number 1) (Washington, D.C., 1861).

³⁷New York Produce Exchange, *Report of the New York Produce Exchange*, 1877, 239 (New York, 1878).

³⁸"Report from the Secretary of War . . . on the Impediments to Navigation in Lake St. Clair; and of the Report and Survey of the Straits of Detroit," in *Senate Documents*, volume 5, number 393, pages 3-4 (27 Congress, 2 session) ([Washington, D.C., 1842]).

³⁹"Report from the Secretary of War . . . on the Impediments to Navigation in Lake St. Clair; and of . . . the Straits of Detroit," 3.

of navigation in 1846. In that year and during the season of navigation the following year the water in all the Great Lakes reached an extremely low stage. James L. Barton, a Buffalo grain dealer, stated that this period of low water was due to a succession of two or three very dry and hot summers during which there was a deficient rainfall and great evaporation. Barton reported that in 1846 large vessels which were fully loaded found it dangerous to enter the harbors on Lake Erie, while at the St. Clair Flats two and sometimes four steamboats and other lighters were employed throughout the season in order that vessels might pass through that channel.⁴⁰

During the season of navigation in 1846 the first attempt was made to deepen the channel through the St. Clair Flats. This attempt was initiated by several grain dealers in Buffalo who obtained the use of the government-owned steam dredge at Erie, and had it towed to the St. Clair Flats. At that point, however, the entire project was abandoned because the financial aid which had been promised by other commercial interests in Buffalo was not forthcoming.⁴¹

In the general harbor appropriations of August 30, 1852, \$20,000 was appropriated by the Federal government for improvement work at the St. Clair Flats, the first Federal appropriation to be made for the flats.⁴² This money, however, was exhausted in the purchase of a steam dredge to be stationed at Detroit, and no funds remained for the operation of the dredge.⁴³ The commercial men of the Great Lakes held a convention in Detroit on March 1, 1854, in order to devise plans to raise money for dredging work at the flats.

⁴⁰James L. Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes. A Brief Sketch of the Great Northern and Western Lakes for a Series of Years*, 53 (Buffalo, 1847). "The highest observed level of the lakes occurred in the summer of 1838, and the lowest in 1847, the difference in the two stages being about 4½ feet." United States Treasury Department, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States for the year 1891*, part 2, G. S. Brock, *Of Commerce and Navigation: The Commerce of the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and Its Tributaries*, appendix 1:10 (Washington, D.C., 1892).

⁴¹Barton, *Commerce of the Lakes*, 53.

⁴²"Laws of the United States relating to the Improvement of Rivers and Harbors . . .," 451.

⁴³Report of the Secretary of War Communicating . . . the Report of Lieutenant Colonel Graham, respecting the Improvement of the Navigation of the Flats of the St. Clair River," in *Senate Executive Documents*, volume 13, number 73, page 34 (34 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1856).

The delegates to this convention elected a president and a secretary, and after the appointment of committees they adjourned to meet in Chicago on March 8. This movement, however, failed to raise the needed funds.⁴⁴

The season of navigation which followed the deliberations of the Detroit-Chicago convention was again a period of low water, and over \$500,000 was lost by the commercial men of the Great Lakes in paying for lighterage and for damages by collision at the St. Clair Flats.⁴⁵ With this disastrous season of navigation fresh in their minds, the Buffalo Board of Trade at a meeting in the Corn Exchange on March 28, 1855, initiated plans for a St. Clair Flats convention to be held in Buffalo. This convention met on April 19, 1855, with grain dealers and shipowners from most of the western parts of the Great Lakes present. The cost of improving the navigation at the flats was estimated at \$35,000, but the convention was able to raise only \$18,000. With this amount, however, and with assurances from the Canadian government that Canada would assume at least one third of the cost, not to exceed \$15,000, the convention determined to go ahead with the work of dredging.⁴⁶

Permission was granted by the War Department for the use of the steam dredge stationed at Detroit but the department would not permit the transfer and use of the dredges at Erie, and Chicago.⁴⁷ The government dredge at Detroit, however, had been sunk, and it was therefore necessary for the executive committee of the St. Clair Flats Convention to pay for raising the dredge and for the repair of the rusty machinery.⁴⁸ The committee also obtained the use of a smaller privately-owned dredge. Improvement operations were commenced at the south channel of the flats in July, 1855, and

⁴⁴Taylor, *History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, 1:187-88.

⁴⁵Graham and Severance, *The First Hundred Years of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce*, 44.

⁴⁶Graham and Severance, *The First Hundred Years of the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce*, 44-45. For additional details of this convention and operations at the St. Clair Flats, see the "Report of . . . Colonel Graham, respecting the Improvement of the Navigation of the Flats of the St. Clair River," 3-4, 17-18, 28-30, 41.

⁴⁷"Report of . . . Colonel Graham, respecting the Improvement of the Navigation of the Flats of the St. Clair River," 28.

⁴⁸"Report of . . . Colonel Graham, respecting the Improvement of the Navigation of the Flats of the St. Clair River," 17 and following.

extended until October 29 of that year. The project was supervised by an army engineer.⁴⁹

Plans had been made to continue dredging operations the following year, but the funds available were exhausted by the operations during 1855. A contribution of \$20,000 which the Canadian government voted for the project could not be used because that contribution was conditional on the completion of a channel of larger dimensions than was actually completed. The dredging operations in 1856 opened a channel of thirteen feet in depth, 1,700 feet in length, and fifty feet in width. Within one year, however, this channel had filled so as to give a depth of only ten feet.⁵⁰

On May 5, 1856, Congress passed an appropriation of \$45,000 for the continuance of the work at the St. Clair Flats. President Pierce quickly vetoed this appropriation, but his veto was overridden and the measure became law on July 7, 1856. Dredging operations, however, were not resumed until 1857.

During 1857 and 1858 the \$45,000 appropriated by the United States government and the \$20,000 appropriated by the Canadian government were used to open a channel through the St. Clair Flats twelve feet in depth, six thousand feet in length and 275 feet in width.⁵¹ The topographical engineer recommended in his report for 1858, however, that the St. Clair channel be given an additional depth of four and a half feet in order to secure a depth of twelve feet during periods of low water.⁵² A bill providing funds for the continuance of the work at the flats was passed by Congress late in 1859, but President Buchanan vetoed this measure, asserting that the work had already been satisfactorily completed and that it was "not too much to expect that it should be kept in repair by that

⁴⁹"Report of . . . Colonel Graham, respecting the Improvement of the Navigation of the Flats of the St. Clair River," 4, 41.

⁵⁰"Report of the Secretary of War, Communicating . . . Information respecting the St. Clair Flats," in *Senate Executive Documents*, volume 8, number 46, page 10 (34 Congress, 3 session) (Washington, D.C., 1857); "Veto Messages of the Presidents," 255-56.

⁵¹"Annual Report of Captain A. W. Whipple, Topographical Engineer . . . October 1, 1858," in *Report of the Secretary of War*, 2:1231 (35 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, number 1, *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress*, volume 3) (Washington, D.C., 1859).

⁵²Report of the Topographical Bureau . . . 1861, in "Report of the Secretary of War," 121.

portion of the commercial and navigating interests which enjoys its peculiar benefits."⁵³

President Buchanan's attitude toward the improvement of the St. Clair Flats was typical of the position of the Democratic party with respect to internal improvements on the Great Lakes prior to the Civil War. The reasons for this position have already been indicated; what remains to be noted is the propaganda use made of it by the Whig party and the various antislavery parties. Spokesmen for the Whig party were much more temperate in their use of this issue than were the spokesmen of an antislavery persuasion; the Whigs were content to argue merely that the stand of the Democratic party with respect to internal improvements was inimical to the economic interests of the West, whereas antislavery agitators sought to show an identity between the Democratic party and the slaveholders of the South and claimed that the latter were the real power which opposed internal improvements in the West.

The Harbor and River Convention held in Chicago on July 5, 1847, as a protest to Polk's vetoes of appropriations for the Great Lakes, affords an excellent example of the uses which the Whig party made of the Democratic party's position with respect to internal improvements. The original movement for the convention was initiated by William M. Hall, a loyal Democrat and the St. Louis agent for the Lake Steamboat Association, which ran passenger steamers between Chicago and Buffalo.⁵⁴

Near the close of navigation in 1846, Hall started out from St. Louis for his winter home in Buffalo. He had already conceived the idea of a convention at Chicago—of the commercial interests of

⁵³"Message of the President of the United States Assigning His Reasons for Not Approving a Bill, Entitled, 'An Act Making An Appropriation for Deepening the Channel over the St. Clair Flats,'" in *Senate Executive Documents*, volume 5, number 6, page 3 (36 Congress, 1 session) (Washington, D.C., 1860).

⁵⁴William M. Hall to Robert Fergus, November 17, 1881, in *Chicago River and Harbor Convention, July 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1847, Origin, Proceedings, and Statistics*, compiled by Robert Fergus, 10 (Fergus Historical Series, number 18) (Chicago, 1882). This compilation includes several letters from William M. Hall written to Fergus, a wide selection of newspaper material bearing on the convention, and a revised reprint of the proceedings of the convention. See also Mentor L. Williams, "The Chicago River and Harbor Convention, 1847," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 35:608-26 (March, 1949).

the Great Lakes which would rival the Southwestern River Convention held in Memphis in November of the preceding year.⁵⁵ The commercial men to whom Hall broached his idea in Chicago were delighted with the proposition, and thus encouraged, Hall made known his plan in Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo and began to develop newspaper support. Similar backing was given him when he explained his ideas in the East.⁵⁶ A meeting of Western men to organize the movement was held at Rathbun's Hotel in New York city on September 28, 1846. At this meeting James L. Barton, a Buffalo grain dealer, was elected chairman pro tem and placed in charge of arrangements for the convention.⁵⁷

In its origins the Chicago Harbor and River Convention was a genuine nonpartisan movement of protest by the commercial men of the Great Lakes; the widespread support which it elicited is sufficiently explained by the concurrence of President Polk's veto with a period of extremely low water on the Great Lakes. When the convention assembled in Chicago, however, the leadership was taken over by the stalwarts of the Whig party who used the convention to influence the commercial interests of the Great Lakes to support the Whig party. Self-appointed delegates from nineteen states were present, and though the roster included all the leading commercial men of the Great Lakes, it also included a large number of the important leaders of the Whig party. The Whig newspaper editors, Thurlow Weed, of the Albany *Evening Journal*, and Horace Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*, were present and sent daily reports to their newspapers from Chicago. Other Whig notables in attendance at the convention were Thomas Butler King of Georgia, Governor William Bebb of Ohio, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, William Woodruff of Michigan, Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, John A. Rockwell of Connecticut, Joseph R. Ingersoll of Pennsylvania, and Abraham Lincoln, then an Illinois congressman. Horace Greeley estimated that two thirds of the delegates present at the convention were Whigs.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 10-11.

⁵⁶Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 10-11.

⁵⁷New York *Herald*, September 29, 1847; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 18-22.

⁵⁸New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, July 17, 1847; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 18-22.

The general committee which had made the arrangements for the convention was composed entirely of bona fide commercial men of the Great Lakes.⁵⁹ In selecting the convention's presiding officers, however, each state represented at the convention chose one delegate, and the officers selected by these delegates were all prominent members of the Whig party. Edward Bates of Missouri was chosen president of the convention, and the list of vice-presidents and secretaries which was selected did not include a single member who was representative of the Great Lakes commercial interests.⁶⁰ Nevertheless the convention maintained a semblance of political neutrality and William M. Hall, the originator of the convention, was convinced that the meeting was nonpartisan.⁶¹

Despite Hall's views, however, an attempt was made to convince those present that Lewis Cass, then Democratic senator from Michigan, was opposed to internal improvements. In contrast to those persons who sent long letters to the convention espousing the cause of internal improvements, Cass sent but a very brief letter in which he merely explained his inability to be present.⁶² Thurlow Weed characteristically reported that

If Gen. Cass had any hold upon the confidence of the people of the West, his cold, formal, and almost disrespectful letter to this Convention, has forever blasted his hopes. Its first reading occasioned a general, broad laugh. The second reading changed the expression to one of withering scorn. And this was scorn of men who wield the political power of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and, to a good degree of Ohio.⁶³ Cass' letter was given wide publicity in the Whig press, and when

⁵⁹*Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention Held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 3. These men were James L. Barton of Buffalo; John W. Allen of Cleveland; Augustus S. Porter of Detroit; William D. Wilson and Byron Kilbourn of Milwaukee; William Ogden, S. Lisle Smith, and George W. Dole of Chicago; and A. B. Chambers of St. Louis.

⁶⁰*Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention Held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 6-7. In 1860 Schuyler Colfax and Horace Greeley urged the nomination of Edward Bates as the Republican presidential candidate. Aside from his chairmanship of the Chicago convention in 1847 Bates was not well known. See Reinhard H. Luthin, *The First Lincoln Campaign*, 62-63 (Cambridge, 1944).

⁶¹Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 12.

⁶²*Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention Held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 34; Mentor L. Williams, "'A Shout of Derision': a Sidelight on the Presidential Campaign of 1848," in *Michigan History*, 32:66-77 (March, 1948).

⁶³*Albany Evening Journal*, July 14, 1847; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 153.

in the following year, Cass was nominated as the Democratic candidate for president, the letter was widely printed in diminutive booklet form as a Whig campaign document.⁶⁴

The attitude of the Democratic party toward internal improvements also came in for its share of abuse at the convention. Daniel Webster, in his letter to the convention, remarked:

The truth is, that of the two great parties which have divided the country, one has been for internal improvements, and one against them; but in this latter party, individuals have been found, principally, I believe, from the Western and North Western States, who have voted for such improvements . . . against the general voice of their party, and against the wishes and vetoes of the Executive Government This conduct is patriotic and honorable, and I hope will be imitated by others.⁶⁵

Thurlow Weed reported from Chicago that the reading of Webster's remarks elicited "three hearty cheers."⁶⁶

The speeches at the convention, as reported in summary form by Weed, were all directed toward various aspects of the constitutional bearings of the question of internal improvements. Thomas Corwin, in the keynote address to the convention, satirized the constitutional distinction which Polk, in his veto messages, had attempted to draw between foreign and coastal *commerce* and *trade* between the states:

Congress has power to regulate commerce [said Corwin] between the several states. If you send a cargo of wheat from Chicago to Buffalo, a distance of 1000 miles, crossing lake after lake, stretching away in their magnificent extent, would not one naturally think that this might be called *commerce*? But no, that is a mistake we are told. What is it then my brother? Why that is *trade* (a laugh). But if you send the same cargo from New York to New Orleans, what is it then? Well, then it is *commerce*. Why is it not in the first instance as well as in the last? Oh! it is not on salt water (a laugh).⁶⁷

The Whig leadership of the convention carefully refrained from

⁶⁴Madison Kuhn, *Economic Issues and the Rise of the Republican Party in the Northwest*, 75, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1940; Williams, "A Shout of Derision," in *Michigan History*, 32:66-77.

⁶⁵Daniel Webster to Messrs. Judd and others, committee, June 26, 1847, in the *Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention Held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 63.

⁶⁶*Albany Evening Journal*, July 14, 1847; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 153.

⁶⁷Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 155.

expressions suggestive of sectional animosity between the North and South. It was for this reason that a letter from the Virginia congressman, John M. Botts, was not read to the convention. Horace Greeley reported that this letter was "spicy" and that it was withheld from the convention because it might have given "offence to some portion of the Delegates present."⁶⁸ Though the letter was not read to the convention it was published in the proceedings; what Greeley found "spicy" was apparently Botts' denunciation of the wasteful expenditures in the Mexican War, then in progress. Botts asserted that the Mexican War was "unnecessary and iniquitous," and that the money it required could much better be spent on internal improvements. Botts did not go so far as to charge, however, that the sole purpose of the war was to advance the interests of the South.⁶⁹

The delicacy apparent in the manner in which the Whig leadership of the Chicago convention dealt with the sectional overtones of the issue of internal improvements was not evident in the approach of antislavery interests to that issue.⁷⁰ Their approach was well expressed by the *Chicago Daily Journal* of August 12, 1846:

"It would seem the dictate of wisdom under such circumstances to husband our means and not waste them on comparatively unimportant objects." Thus discourses James K. Polk in his veto message on the Harbor Bill, and the sentiment is an insult to the country. "Husband our means" forsooth. Are not millions being squandered by this same James K. Polk for the invasion of Mexico and the extension of slavery? . . . Are not the Treasury doors unbarred whenever the "open sesame" is whispered by the slave driver? And yet Mr. Polk outrages the intelligence of the people, his masters, by claiming, when a pittance is asked for a great Northern interest, that we must "husband our means!"

⁶⁸New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, July 17, 1847; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 140-41.

⁶⁹*Proceedings of the Harbor and River Convention Held at Chicago, July Fifth, 1847*, 50-51.

⁷⁰Four prominent antislavery leaders were present at the Chicago convention: Zebina Eastman, a Chicago publisher, who was a member of the local Chicago committee on arrangements; Dr. Charles V. Dyer, a leading antislavery advocate of Illinois; and Charles Durkee and Edward D. Holton, both of Wisconsin. The antislavery leaders present at the convention, however, did not address the delegates, and there were no outward manifestations of sectional animosity in the proceedings of the meeting. Theodore C. Smith, *The Liberty and Free-Soil Parties in the Northwest*, 62, 63, 64, 341, 343, (New York, 1897); Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 25, 46, 54, 66, 67.

*That the object for which we ask them is comparatively UNIMPORTANT!*⁷¹

This direct and forceful denunciation was in keeping with the transfer of the indignation of abolitionists from a mere moral reprobation of the institution of slavery to charges that the "slavocracy" of the South was aggressive and bent on thwarting the economic and legislative needs of the North. This "secularization," as one historian has described the change in the antislavery movement, had already become apparent by the time of the formation of the Liberty party in 1840.⁷² At that time it was impossible to substantiate the charge that the Democratic party was opposed to internal improvements; but another charge was freely made—that the diplomatic representatives of the national administration (particularly the representatives in Great Britain) displayed a partiality toward the economic interests of southern products and did not strive to open foreign markets to American wheat. Indeed, a statement to this effect was incorporated in the Liberty party platform of 1844.⁷³ Two years later this accusation lost its usefulness because the effect of several unusual crop years in Great Britain resulted in the repeal of the British Corn Laws. Polk's veto of the harbor appropriation measure, however, which followed within two months after the repeal of the British Corn Laws, opened a fresh field for abolitionist propaganda.

On August 9, 1848, the former elements of the Liberty party plus the Barnburner element of the Democratic party of New York state met in convention at Buffalo and formed the Free Soil party. This party nominated Martin Van Buren for president, and although unsuccessful at the polls, split the New York state Democratic vote and gave the election to Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate.⁷⁴

⁷¹Chicago Daily Journal, August 12, 1846; Fergus, *Chicago River and Harbor Convention*, 14.

⁷²Julian P. Bretz, "The Economic Background of the American Liberty Party," in the *American Historical Review*, 34:250-64 (January, 1929). See also Chauncey S. Boucher, "In Re that Aggressive Slavocracy," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 8:30 (June-September, 1921).

⁷³Bretz, "The Economic Background of the American Liberty Party," in the *American Historical Review*, 34:257; Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 11. This charge was without foundation. See Reid B. Duncan, *Papers Relating to American Agricultural Exports: 1830-1850*, 116, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University, 1938.

⁷⁴Herbert D. A. Donovan, *The Barnburners*, 98 and following (New York, 1925).

The party platform of the Free Soil party in 1848 bears a number of similarities to the Republican platforms of 1856 and 1860. The Free Soilers, like the later Republicans, attempted to exploit the internal improvements question for its political value. However the Free Soilers in their platform of 1848 not only declared for federally-financed internal improvements, but they also placed themselves on record as favoring free homesteads, higher tariff rates, cheaper postage, economy in government, and an extension of the popular election of federal officials.⁷⁵ The Republican platforms of 1856 and 1860 repeated several of these declarations of national policy, added others, and prefaced these promises, as did the Free Soil platform of 1848, with a lengthy denunciation of the slave-owning South.⁷⁶

The Whigs in their platform of 1856, the last presidential election year in which that party offered a candidate, pointed to the dangers of disunity inherent in the principles of the Republican party. But in the following year the nation was struck by a panic and the commercial men of the Great Lakes, who had watched their harbors fall into disrepair, were more immediately concerned with the economic disaster which threatened them rather than with the danger which the Whigs claimed faced the nation.⁷⁷

During the years 1857, 1858, and 1859 [reported a Buffalo grain dealer] the crops in these North-Western states were so very meager as to afford but a partial employment, and at very low rates of freight, for vessels upon the Lakes and boats upon the canals; effecting many other interests in the State, and especially in this city, largely dependent on this commerce for support.⁷⁸

During this period of depression, the grain trade on the Great Lakes was seriously handicapped by the stringency in the money market in the East as well in the West.⁷⁹ In 1857 several Chicago commission houses, with grain en route to the East on the Erie Canal, were unable to raise money to pay the transportation costs; the canalboats cleared from one local point to another while the

⁷⁵Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 22-25.

⁷⁶Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 47-50, 56-59.

⁷⁷Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 50.

⁷⁸Erastus S. Prosser, *The Enlargement of the Locks of the Erie Canal* 4 (Buffalo, 1869).

⁷⁹Taylor, *History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, 1:232.

commission houses raised money to make possible a move of another few miles.⁸⁰

The chief topographical engineer in his report in 1858 described all of the harbors on the Great Lakes as being in a state of serious disrepair.⁸¹ The Republican party in 1859, however, concentrated its legislative efforts on the passage of an appropriation for the further improvement of the St. Clair Flats, instead of on a comprehensive harbor bill. The problem of navigation at the flats was a focus of dissatisfaction for all the commercial men of the Great Lakes. The agitation for a St. Clair Flats measure began on January 26, 1859, when the Republican-dominated legislature of Michigan sent to the chief executives of each of the northern states copies of a joint resolution calling for improvement of the St. Clair Flats.⁸² The outcome of this agitation has already been indicated; late in 1859 a Federal appropriation for the flats was passed, only to be vetoed by President Buchanan on February 1, 1860.⁸³

Only the Republican party in the election of 1860 promised Federal appropriations for internal improvements.⁸⁴ The issue had become a sectional one, and the only way by which the commercial interests of the Great Lakes could gain what they wanted was to vote for a sectional party—the Republican party. The victory of the Republican party gave the grain dealers and shipowners of the Great Lakes the Federal appropriations they wanted. In the nine years from 1864 to 1873, \$711,085 was appropriated for the improvement of the harbor at Buffalo whereas in the thirty-four years from 1826 to 1860 only \$262,895 had been appropriated for that purpose. The appropriations for other improvement work on the Great Lakes in the post-Civil War period show a similar increase.⁸⁵

⁸⁰Taylor, *History of the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, 1:232.

⁸¹"Lieutenant Colonel J. D. Graham's Report . . . 1858," 1101, 1135, 1170, 1173, 1183.

⁸²*Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan*, 1859, 760 (Lansing, 1859). The resolution is printed in full in "Communication from His Excellency the Governor, Transmitting Resolutions of the Legislature of Michigan with Reference to the Improvement of the St. Clair Flats . . . , February 8, 1859," in *Documents of the Assembly of the State of New York*. . . 1859, volume 2, number 71 (Albany, 1859).

⁸³"Veto Messages of the Presidents," 266-74.

⁸⁴Porter, *National Party Platforms*, 51 and following.

⁸⁵"Laws of the United States Relating to the Improvements of Rivers and Harbors . . . , 456.

Lewis Cass, Jr. and the Roman Republic of 1849

Sexson E. Humphreys

THERE ARE FEW MORE STRANGELY TIMED CAREERS in the history of the politically-determined diplomatic service of the United States than that of Lewis Cass, Jr., the second *chargé d'affaires* of the United States to the Papal States and the first United States minister resident to the Papal States.

Cass owed his appointment to the political importance of his father, who was Democratic nominee for president in 1848. But he got the nomination after his father lost the election to the Whigs and General Zachary Taylor. He remained in Rome through the Whig administration and a Democratic one and then was recalled, against his wish, when his father became secretary of state under President James Buchanan in 1857.

There is nothing in the available papers of Lewis Cass, Sr.¹ to show that he pushed his son for the appointment, although he was described as a "constant caller" on President James K. Polk and was Democratic leader in the Senate. Chief exponent of the idea of making Lewis Cass, Jr. a diplomat seems to have been his mother, Elizabeth Spencer Cass. In 1846 she worked hard to get her son named minister to Paris, the position Cass, Sr. held from 1836 to 1842. According to Frank B. Woodford, General Cass' biographer, this

was the only occasion in her life that she took any part in political activity, but there was nothing she would not do for her beloved son. She kept the knocker on the White House door rattling almost as much as her husband did, and President Polk expressed mild surprise that she should call on him in person. But her efforts were unsuccessful. Mr. Polk was a cold fish and not inclined to do favors for the family of anyone who might be his successor.²

¹William S. Ewing, curator of manuscripts, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, to the author, July 20, 1954; Mrs. Elleine H. Stones, chief, Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library, to the author, July 28, 1954.

²Frank B. Woodford, *Lewis Cass: The Last Jeffersonian*, 239 (New Brunswick, 1950).

When President Polk did appoint Cass, Jr. as chargé d'affaires at Rome, it was a lame-duck appointment. There was no way of knowing with any certainty that the new Taylor administration would not replace the defeated Democratic nominee's son as soon as it came into office. President Taylor was quoted by Thurlow Weed as saying there were plenty of Whigs "just as capable and honest, and quite as deserving of office, as the Democrats."³ But uncertainty of tenure was only one of the uncertainties faced by the new chargé. A few months before his appointment, the Frenchman who was acting as United States vice-consul in Rome wrote to Secretary of State James Buchanan: "A strong shake[up] being expected in Italy, as much as the fall of the King of Naples [*sic*], I beseech you, sir, to forward orders sure and precise to face whatever events."⁴ The Papal States, to which Cass was accredited, and all of the peninsula of Italy, were in revolution. Of the Roman part of that revolution, Lewis Cass, Jr. was to be not merely an observer but actually a participant. That is the story of this article.

The "Junior" in his name has led several writers, including the present one,⁵ to refer to the newly appointed envoy as "young Cass." Actually, he was about thirty-nine when he went to Rome and he was more experienced for his job than most appointees to such diplomatic posts of the United States at that time. As secretary to his father in the Paris legation and in the Senate, Cass, Jr. had learned considerable of diplomacy and politics. And as a general's son and as a major himself in the Mexican War, Cass, Jr. had learned something of military matters.

The first United States chargé d'affaires in Rome, Dr. Jacob L. Martin, was presented to Pope Pius IX on August 19, 1848. Just one week later Dr. Martin was dead of malaria.⁶ The United States

³Thurlow Weed Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed*, 175-76 (Boston, 1884).

⁴Antoine Ardisson to James Buchanan, October 25, 1848, in Leo Francis Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches*, 129 (Washington, D.C., 1945).

⁵Sexson E. Humphreys, *Le relazione diplomatiche fra gli Stati Uniti e l'Italia del Risorgimento, 1847-1871*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Rome, 1944.

⁶The most complete account of Dr. Jacob L. Martin's brief mission, in relation to the historic events of that hot Roman summer, is by Alberto Maria Ghisalberti, "Il primo rappresentante degli Stati Uniti a Roma" in *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, 28:3-20 (July-December, 1951). Martin's two dispatches—only the second is from Rome—are published in full by Leo Francis

had decided to open a legation at Rome, as Great Britain had done a year earlier, largely because of the aura of liberalism that surrounded the beginning of the pontificate of "Pio Nono." Senator Cass, one of those who favored sending an envoy to Rome "to give encouragement to patriotic reforms," declared that "the pontiff who holds the keys of St. Peter has found the key to unlock the human heart."⁷ Dr. Martin called the situation "the alliance of freedom and religion."⁸ But even before Martin's ephemeral mission, others had begun to be disillusioned. George Perkins Marsh, then minister at Constantinople and later to be the first United States minister to the united Kingdom of Italy, wrote that a liberal pope was a contradiction in terms, an impossibility—one could not be pope and patriot.⁹ After the Pope fled from Rome to Gaeta on November 24, 1848, several congressmen argued that the Papal States had ceased to exist, and that no new charge should be named.

When Cass, Jr. was appointed at the "midnight hour" of the Polk administration, Buchanan instructed him to proceed to Rome, but not to present his credentials to either the papal secretary of state or to the provisional government. He should await new instructions from Washington. Buchanan said he believed the restoration of the Pope to his temporal dominion was "highly probable, if not absolutely certain."¹⁰ By the time Cass got to Rome on April 2, Taylor was already in office and the charge was reporting to Secretary of State John M. Clayton. He told Clayton no foreign government had given the new republic diplomatic recognition. Indeed, all the diplomats accredited to Rome had gone to Gaeta and Cass found himself the only envoy in the city. He also found himself the center of a tug-of-war.

The republican government, threatened by Austria, France, and Naples, needed a friend and there was little likelihood of support

Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States: Instructions and Dispatches, 1848-1868*, 4-15 (Washington, D.C., 1933). This book also contains the Cass dispatches and the instructions to him.

⁷William L. G. Smith, *The Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, 638-39 (New York, 1856).

⁸Jacob L. Martin to James Buchanan, No. 2, August 20, 1848, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 14.

⁹Caroline Crane Marsh, *Life and Letters of George Perkins Marsh*, 1:116 (New York, 1888).

¹⁰James Buchanan to Lewis Cass, Jr., No. 2, February 16, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 18.

from any government except those of the two Anglo-Saxon countries. Republican leaders believed the "effect of recognition by the United States would be to give it [the republic] not inconsiderable strength." Apparently the papal and diplomatic circles at Gaeta felt the same way. Cass said that Giuseppe Mazzini, triumvir and effective head of the republic, and Giuseppe Galletti, then president of the Assembly, and "other individuals connected with the Executive Department," had solicited him, "to a degree amounting to importunity," to present his credentials to them. He reported he had been wooed with "dinners, seats at the opera, and similar civilities." Apparently fearful he would be won over to the republican cause, the Prussian minister, Karl von Usedom, and the secretary of the French legation, Palamede de Forbin-Janson, came from Gaeta to dissuade him.¹¹ Actually, the two Gaeta diplomats needed not to have been fearful, even if Cass' hands had not been tied with instructions not to present his letter of credence until further instructions. A week after his arrival in the Eternal City, Cass had written to Clayton that, while he had found "every variety of sentiment" and could scarcely express an opinion so early on the stability of the provisional government, the Sardinian defeat at Novara, and the resultant abdication of King Carlo Alberto made him believe "there is now every probability that in the course of a month the Pontiff will be restored to the Vatican."¹² In his conversations with both sides, Cass reported . . . when a reply became necessary, in order to avoid giving umbrage or cause of offense to the United States, I have replied that my government, being so far removed from the scene of action as to be deprived of the usual means of information, had seen fit to send me here, without discretionary powers, to report upon the state of affairs, preliminary to deciding the course it would pursue.¹³

Nicholas Brown, consul at Rome since 1845—with several long periods away from his post—had taken less care to be neutral. He made himself completely a partisan of the republican cause. On February 5, 1849, the day the Constituent Assembly was formally opened in defiance of the Papal excommunication, Brown

¹¹Lewis Cass, Jr., to John M. Clayton, No. 2, April 21, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 28-30.

¹²Cass to Clayton, No. 1, April 9, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 25.

¹³Cass to Clayton, No. 2, April 21, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 29.

thought it my duty, as an American citizen, to do homage to the principle of popular sovereignty [*sic*], of which our glorious republic is the living incarnation. Accordingly, I accompanied the splendid procession in my official uniform. . . . I assisted likewise at a solemn *Te Deum* sung, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, all the deputies, public authorities & a numerous body of civic guards and troops, at St. Peter's on Sunday [*sic*] the 11th inst, where thanks were offered up to Divine Providence, for the advent of the *Republic* of which I had witnessed the proclamation at the *Capitol*.¹⁴

H. Nelson Gay says that another American consul, James E. Freeman, the artist who had been named in 1840 as consul at Ancona, also participated in the procession to the Campidoglio.¹⁵

On February 11, only five days before Buchanan's instructions to Cass of "no recognition until further instructions," Brown wrote to Carlo Emanuele Muzzarelli, president of the council of ministers of the republic that he

feels too lively a satisfaction in the progress of liberty in the Roman States, to allow the occasion of the proclamation of the Republic, of which he hereby acknowledges your official communication [dated Feb. 9], to pass away, without tendering to the nation, through you, his warmest congratulations.

Although the undersigned cannot take upon himself to make any declaration, upon this momentous subject, in the name of the Govt. of the United States, he feels confident that he is not overstepping the bounds of propriety by manifesting his personal satisfaction in this momentous event.

Nor can he feel any hesitation in stating to you that it has ever been a cardinal principle, uniformly and under all circumstances, acted upon by the Govt. of the United States of America, to acknowledge, as supreme, any Govt. which a people may choose to institute; as in them & their delegated agents, is solely vested the fundamental right of subverting old forms of rule, or of establishing a new order of things.

So thoroughly known is this great truth to every citizen of his republic, so deeply rooted in every American heart the love of liberty, that the nation will at once hail with joy the independence of the Roman Republic, long before their diplomatic agents can have had time, in due official form, to give expression to the generous sentiments of their constituency.¹⁶

¹⁴Nicholas Brown to James Buchanan, February 12, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 156.

¹⁵H. Nelson Gay, "Le relazioni fra l'Italia e gli Stati Uniti, 1847-1871," in *Nuova Antologia*, series 5, volume 127:657 (Rome, 1907).

¹⁶Nicholas Brown to Carlo Emanuele Muzzarelli, February 11, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 158.

On February 21, acknowledging receipt of a new consular exequatur from the republican government, Brown wrote to Carlo Rusconi, republican foreign minister, that he accepted the renewal of his consular privileges "in the fullest belief that his Govt. will take the earliest opportunity to recognize that of Rome, in the most satisfactory manner."¹⁷ In a dozen long and rhetorical dispatches within a six-month period—he wrote only eight dispatches in the rest of the four years he was assigned to Rome—Brown argued on behalf of the republican government with a state department which had far different procedures on recognition than Brown had stated to Muzzarelli and Rusconi.¹⁸ In most cases, Brown's communications were not even acknowledged in Washington. But he was the confidante and intimate of several revolutionary leaders and he contributed largely to the republican hospitals.¹⁹ His arguments must have had more influence on Cass in Rome than on their superiors in Washington.

The American navy, too, acted during the revolution in a way which could hardly be called neutral. About the time Cass arrived in Rome, the frigate *Princeton* carried General Giuseppe Avezzana from Genoa on the fall of the republic there. It took him to safety in the Tuscan port of Leghorn. The *Alleghany* took Avezzana from Leghorn to Civitavecchia in the Papal States, whence he went to Rome and assumed the portfolio of minister of war for the republic.²⁰ Avezzana had lived in New York earlier and returned there after the fall of the Roman Republic.²¹

Cass' own first reactions toward the republican government were critical, as reflected in his first dispatch to Clayton,²² and he forecast that the republic would be short-lived. But he must have begun to be sympathetic to the aims of the republic, if not to all its methods, within a few days. Two years later, in a personal letter to Mrs. Wil-

¹⁷Nicholas Brown to Carlo Rusconi, February 21, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 162.

¹⁸Stock, *Consular Relations*, 129-78.

¹⁹Gay, "Le relazioni," in *Nuova Antologia*, series 5, volume 127:661-62.

²⁰Nathaniel Niles, chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Kingdom of Sardinia, to John M. Clayton, No. 26, Turin, April 14, 1849, in the National Archives.

²¹Howard R. Marraro, "Garibaldi in New York," in *New York History*, 27:179-202 (April, 1946).

²²Cass to Clayton, No. 1, April 9, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 18-25.

liam Ellery Channing, wife of the Concord historian, Cass described the kind of city to which he had come:

It was filled at that time with exiles and fugitives, who had been contending for years, from Milan in the North, to Palermo in the South, for the republican cause; and when the gates were closed [for the siege], it was computed that, of Italians alone, there were 13 thousand refugees within the walls of the city, all of whom had been expelled from adjacent states, till Rome became their last rallying point and to many their last resting place. Among them was to be seen every variety of age, sentiment and condition: striplings and blanched heads; wild visionary enthusiasts; grave, heroic men, who in the struggle for freedom had ventured all and lost all; nobles and beggars; bandits, felons and brigands. Great excitement existed, and . . . general apprehension.²³

The apprehension grew from the landing of French troops on April 24 at Civitavecchia, under the command of General Victor Oudinot. Mrs. Channing's sister, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, who had been confidante of Ralph Waldo Emerson and editor of *The Dial*, was in Rome during the revolutionary period. She had been an admirer of and even a conspirator with Mazzini previously and he had called on her three days after his arrival in Rome. The final entry in her "Roman diary" was made from one to four days after the French landing. It reads:

The tragedy . . . is tending toward a close. Rome is barricaded. The foe is daily hourly expected. Will the Romans fight? Outwardly, they express great ardor. The chamber of deputies has warmly and unanimously voted to resist. At the review of the civic guard yesterday, they gave great promise, yet somewhere I doubt them all. From my window [in the Piazza Barberini] I see now where they are bringing boards. I suppose to make a support for cannon and it seems such play for men and boys alike.²⁴

Soon after the French came ashore, Cass was urged by Prince Canino, Lucian Carl Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I and vice-president of the republic's constituent assembly, to act as go-between with the invaders sent by Canino's cousin, Louis Napoleon. Cass said he was beseeched twice by Canino and also "by other individ-

²³Emma Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli e i suoi corrispondenti*, 341-44 (Florence, 1942). The letter is dated from Rome, May 10, 1851.

²⁴Leona Rostenberg, "Margaret Fuller's Roman Diary," in the *Journal of Modern History*, 12:220 (June, 1940). For the Fuller-Mazzini association see Joseph Rossi, *The Image of America in Mazzini's Writings*, 49-57. (Madison, 1954).

uals," to go to Civitavecchia and obtain an interview with Oudinot, to present what he called an "ultimatum" of the republican government. The terms provided for an armistice of fifteen days, during which time a referendum would be held on the restoration of the Pope. At the end of the fifteen days, the French were either to withdraw, satisfied, or the republic would declare war.

Because Oudinot had issued a proclamation saying France desired to respect the wishes of the majority of the Roman people, the leaders of the Roman republic told Cass they believed the Gallic general would accept the terms. Cass believed otherwise: "That the expedition has been undertaken with the determination to restore the Pope, without regard for the sentiments of the nation." Canino and the others urged the new diplomat to be the bearer of their message "by common considerations of humanity, to prevent the effusion of blood."

Cass felt there was neither propriety nor efficacy in his accepting, and he said he was "perfectly well aware" that the "real motive" of the republican government was "to create the impression . . . that their cause is favored and countenanced by the United States." He wrote to the State Department, three hours after he was at a meeting of the republican assembly discussing the sending of a deputation to Oudinot, that he had declined, because "to present myself . . . without the sanction of official character, . . . might be very justly regarded by him (Oudinot) as an act of impertinent interference."²⁵

The late Leo Francis Stock, the editor of the instructions to and dispatches from American diplomatic and consular representatives to the Papal States, indicated that after reporting his declination to Clayton, Cass actually had gone to the French Camp.²⁶ But Stock refers to a later meeting between Cass and Ferdinand de Lesseps, who was sent to mediate between the Second Republic of France and the second republic of modern Rome. This was the same de Lesseps who later was to build the Suez Canal. But he was not in Civitavecchia on April 27. The request of that date to Cass apparently was refused. But it was only the first of several to be made during the siege. Cass was the only diplomat inside the besieged

²⁵Cass to Clayton, No. 3, April 27, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 33-34.

²⁶Stock, *United States Ministers*, 34, note.

walls and it was natural that both sides should look to the Hotel de Russie, where he lived, as a sort of postoffice for the transmittal of communications, and that he should be asked to serve more than once as bearer of proposals and counterproposals. Cass did not report his activities as intermediary to Clayton in Washington, but he did say: "On occasions like the present, the requirements of etiquette and, more, the observances of official propriety are apt to be disregarded."²⁷

The French attacked the city on April 30 and were repulsed by the republican forces under Avezzana and Giuseppe Garibaldi. One minor result of the battle was that Margaret Fuller Ossoli ceased to have time to write in her diary; she was one "of several ladies of high rank," according to Cass, who had formed themselves into an association of mercy in advance of the battle. She was assigned to a hospital called by Cass "Trinity of the Pilgrims" and referred to by the Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgioiso, head of the hospital service, as that of "the Fate Bene Fratelli."²⁸ Another incidental result of the battle was that it gave Cass a serious job to do as chargé. "I visited several of my countrymen, at their request, to concert measures for their safety," he wrote later.²⁹ Among the other Americans then in the city were the artist William Story and his wife Emlyn. Cass reported to Clayton on May 8 that most foreigners had left the city, including "several" American families, but that the majority of Americans had remained. Cass had this explanation:

So much favor has been shown them by the existing government, for which in various shapes, they have expressed their sympathies, that probably they have hitherto entertained fewer apprehensions of personal inconvenience than persons belonging to other nations. On three different occasions, the Legislative Assembly has passed resolutions, expressing thanks to American citizens, for their offers of assistance and contributions in money.³⁰

But in the actual danger of bombardment, several of those who had stayed became anxious to withdraw. Cass found that "a large proportion of the Americans present consist of ladies, with their children

²⁷Cass to Clayton, No. 3, April 27, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 34.

²⁸Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 343 and 352.

²⁹Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 342.

³⁰Cass to Clayton, No. 4, May 8, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 37.

—families of fortune and of the highest respectability." Their alarm was "becoming painful." Three days before Cass was writing of this, Lord Napier, secretary of the British legation at Naples, had arrived in Rome to offer transportation from Civitavecchia to Naples for any British subjects. Cass therefore told Clayton that:

... under these circumstances, entertaining no doubt of your approval, I have yielded to their [the ladies'] solicitations, and have written Capt. [William W.] Hunter commanding the U.S. Steamer *Alleghany*, now lying at Leghorn, requesting him to bring his ship to Civitavecchia without delay.³¹

Cass makes no further mention of the matter, but the *Alleghany's* log shows that the vessel did not come to Civitavecchia.³² It was in these arrangements for safety of American ladies in Rome that Cass met Miss Fuller; he addressed her by that name because she did not reveal to him until the next-to-last night of the siege the secret of her marriage to Marquis Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, a captain in the republican army. Cass arranged, for her safety, that she should move from the Piazza Barberini to the Casa Diez in Via Gregoriana.³³

The next act in the story is the one in which Cass played his biggest role; that is the unsuccessful De Lesseps mission. De Lesseps says flatly that Cass acted in behalf of the Roman Republic in the negotiations.³⁴ Cass himself mentions a communication from De Lesseps in one letter to Miss Fuller and a communication from Canino in a note to her ten days later.³⁵ Luigi Carlo Farini, in his history of the Roman state, reports Cass' actions in some detail.³⁶ Alfred Owen Legge in his biography of Pope Pius IX says Cass visited De Lesseps "and volunteered his assistance in framing the terms of an agreement."³⁷ William Roscoe Thayer, American historian of the Ris-

³¹Cass to Clayton, No. 4, May 8, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 37-38.

³²Nelson M. Blake, naval section, war records branch, National Archives, to the author, March 28, 1955. The *Alleghany's* log shows she remained at Leghorn until May 20 and then sailed to Tunis.

³³Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 342.

³⁴Ferdinand de Lesseps, *Recollections of Forty Years*, translated by C. B. Pittman, 1:40-41 (New York, 1887).

³⁵Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 318-19. The dates are May 20 and June 1, 1849.

³⁶Luigi Carlo Farini, *Lo Stato Romano*, third edition, 4:107-8 (Florence, 1853).

³⁷Alfred Owen Legge, *Pius IX: The Story of His Life to the Restoration in 1850*, 2:277 (London, 1875).

orgimento, says the offer was "made directly to Oudinot through the medium of Mr. Cass."³⁸

De Lesseps was sent to Italy on May 8, arriving at Civitavecchia May 17. We know that he saw Consul Brown the following day. Brown said he was "agreeably surprised by a visit from the French envoy, Monsieur Lesseps, well known consul at Barcelona during troubled times & who has numerous relatives settled at New Orleans & citizens of our Republic." Brown found him to be undertaking his inquiry "with equal candour and discretion." The consul went on:

The aspect of the city alone sufficed to impress him, as he declared to me, with views respecting the position of matters here, which subsequent investigations have only helped to confirm, and which, from his apparently unaffected statements, I have reason to suppose identical with my own. He represents all parties, not only in Paris, but even in Gen. Oudinot's camp, as utterly unacquainted with the real state of Rome. He is apprehensive that the statement he shall feel it his duty to submit to the French chamber & gover't., will scarcely meet credence from its being in direct opposition to all their preconceived notions upon this subject. He fears that altho known through a diplomatic career of twenty years, for moderation & candour, he will have to meet accusations of gross misstatement & ultra-republican propagandism. He, notwithstanding, will do his duty to those who sent him, & to truth, by a candid & explicit exposition of facts. My own statements, he says, are fully borne out by those of the British consular agent, a resident here for very many years, & those of numerous other intelligent persons. This is highly satisfactory to me, in every point of view.³⁹

After his meeting with Brown, an armistice was arranged and a group of deputies were chosen by the Roman assembly to confer with the French diplomat. Cass apparently took part in the meeting. He described the result in his note of May 20 to Miss Fuller:

In a conference, which took place last night, at 12 o'clock, between Mr. L., on the one side, and 12 Deputies representing the government, on the other, the great point under discussion was the occupation of the city by the French force—the former insisting strenuously on the affirmation, and the latter as resolutely and properly opposing it. After two hours spent in debate, the interview was brought to a close, by Mr. L. declaring all further negotiation was impossible.

³⁸William Roscoe Thayer, *The Dawn of Italian Independence*, 369. (Boston, 1892). Thayer cites De Lesseps and Nicomede Bianchi, *Storia documentata della diplomazia europea in Italia, 1814-61*, 6:234 (Turin, 1863-72).

³⁹Nicholas Brown to John M. Clayton, May 19, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 174-75.

Apparently De Lesseps returned to Oudinot, who confirmed his stand in the negotiations, and then in the daylight hours of May 20 sent a note to Cass which, he told Miss Fuller with regret, restated "that all hopes of an amicable arrangement, of adjustment, with the Roman Government, are at an end, for the present, at least." Miss Fuller, in a May 27 dispatch to the *New York Tribune* reported herself as disappointed in Cass, the "unrecognized, unrecognized envoy" for not having given encouragement and recognition to the republic.⁴⁰

Cass reported to Clayton on May 23 that the armistice had been terminated on the previous day and that "the city is in a state of siege." He told the secretary of state something of the negotiations and reported that he "was strongly solicited to appear as the representative of the Roman Republic, which request, although the commander in chief of the French forces united in it likewise, I felt it my duty to decline." At another point, he said: "Mindful . . . of our peculiar policy, I have carefully abstained. . . ." But he did tell Clayton, "It is difficult to remain an indifferent spectator."

The fact is he did not remain indifferent, just as he did not remain a spectator. In six weeks at Rome, Cass had become a partisan of the republican cause, though more restrained than his consular colleague. He declared that "the French Cabinet have committed a grave error in undertaking the present expedition," in that it did not immediately and without bloodshed restore the Pope. He praised the "unanimity of the [Roman] people in support of the government" and declared that "in Rome's best days . . . no better or braver spirit was manifested." Then he stated the reason for his sympathy:

This city is the last foothold of thousands, who have been fighting for years, from Milan in the North, to Palermo in the South, for independence and constitutional government. Of Italians, alone, refugees from other parts of the country, it is computed there are eighteen thousand present. . . . If defeat again overtakes them, the homes of those who survive must be under a foreign sky.

It was in this same dispatch that he came closest to recommending United States recognition of the Republic. These were his words:

⁴⁰The Cass note is in Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 342. Miss Fuller's dispatch is quoted in Sister Loretta Feiertag, *American Public Opinion on the Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Papal States, 1847-1867*, 49 (Washington, 1933).

To our countrymen here, several of whom are known to us as persons of distinction and fortune, it is a subject of some regret, that our government has not deemed it advisable to recognize at once the new republic. In the warm sympathy they feel for it . . . their hearts, perhaps more than their judgement, suggest this expression. . . . They have evinced their partiality to the republican cause, by contributing pecuniary aid to the Ministry, since the commencement of military operations; and so gratefully is this conduct regarded, that the Assembly have passed a resolution, declaring American citizens to be under the immediate protection of the State, their persons inviolate.⁴¹

Although Cass was not to know until after the siege was over, Clayton was on the same day writing a letter on the same subject of recognition. He acknowledged Cass' first two dispatches from Rome, written more than a month earlier, and told the chargé

The restoration of His Holiness will now scarcely admit of doubt. It is not deemed necessary, however, to give you any new instructions in regard to the delivery of your Credential Letter, which will, accordingly, be still withheld until further orders.⁴²

Just about the time he was denying intervention to Clayton, Cass apparently was making his major effort at mediation. Farini says that Mazzini, instead of keeping a promise to send new proposals to De Lesseps, sought to use Cass to obtain from Oudinot, the soldier, the terms he had been unable to get from the French diplomat. Canino once more was the intermediary between Mazzini and Cass. Farini says that after conferring with the Bonaparte prince, Cass went to Oudinot's camp, asked to confer with the general and suggested these terms: That the Roman Republic should accept the word of the French Assembly that it had sent troops into Italy to prevent other foreign (that is, Austrian) intervention, and that it would be grateful for the aid that had been sent; that the French Republic would solemnly recognize the Roman Republic as soon as the Roman constitution should be ratified by universal suffrage, since the people of Rome had exercised an incontestable right to change their government, that Rome should accept the French soldiers, but that they should not enter the city unless the government, menaced at close quarters, should call for help; that the republican authorities should

⁴¹Cass to Clayton, No. 5, May 23, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 39-40.

⁴²John M. Clayton to Lewis Cass, Jr., No. 4, May 23, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 38.

remain in office with their legal attributes until the constitution should be put into effect.⁴³ Stock quotes Oudinot as having told De Lesseps that Cass himself added a final stipulation "that he should sign the agreement as Minister of the United States."⁴⁴ Farini thus concludes the story:

The general, scarcely casting a glance on these articles, so contrary to the commission given M. Lesseps, and so entirely at variance with his own ideas, answered Mr. Cass, that, on the score of humanity, he was desirous of peace, but beyond all he desired an honorable peace and a speedy conclusion; and then without saying anything further, he took leave of the ambassador, and gave no account of the interview to M. Lesseps.⁴⁵

De Lesseps continued his efforts for an agreement and reached accord with the triumvirs. On June 1, Cass wrote Miss Fuller:

I am this moment informed by Canino, that an arrangement, under which France engages to regard the Republic as a friendly power, to retire from the immediate vicinity of the city, and to occupy Roman territory only so long as is necessary to defend it against foreign invasion, has been signed, and a copy sent to Paris for final ratification.⁴⁶

Oudinot denounced the armistice the same day, pulling the rug out from under De Lesseps. The general's action might have been anticipated on the basis of his refusal of similar terms when offered by Cass. The French government supported Oudinot, recalled De Lesseps, and the siege of Rome was renewed. Brown reported to Clayton under a June 3 date:

In my last, I remarked that Mon. Lesseps, the French envoy, had done me the honor to call on me, & that he expressed his entire confidence in my views. But though his personal opinions fully coincided with my own, & tho' he professed to be furnished with *full* powers to treat, yet it is, from all that has occurred, quite obvious that the instructions given him limited & restricted his field of action. Hence the recognition of the Roman Republic, which would have turned out so beneficial to the cause of European liberty & so advantageous to the real interests of Republican

⁴³Farini, *Lo Stato Romano*, 4:107-8.

⁴⁴Stock, *United States Ministers*, xxv.

⁴⁵For the sake of readership, this quotation is from Luigi Carlo Farini, *The Roman State*, translated by William Ewart Gladstone (later prime minister of Great Britain), 4:111-12 (London, 1851-54). The Gladstone translation, made from an earlier edition, varies slightly from the third Italian edition in some portions of the story of this incident, but the quotation here is faithful to the final version in Farini's own language.

⁴⁶Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 319.

France, has, to the last, been car[e]fully avoided by him, his personal conviction, in favor of such a step, notwithstanding. And at the eleventh hour, the misunderstanding between the civil & military authorities, long concealed by the dense veil of diplomatic art, but which many an accurate eye had seen through, was held up to broad daylight. The French *amour-propre* raised, at last, such a gust of rage, that the flimsy covering was torn to atoms & concealment was impossible. The arrangement between Rome and France, so long pending, and which would have enabled the former, without fear of gallic aggression to exert all her strength to repel the Austrian invader, whilst carefully guarding the Neapolitan frontier, was rendered nugatory by Gen. Oudinot's refusing to subscribe, or in any way sanction, the terms acceded to and signed by Monsieur [sic] Lesseps. The general wholly superseded Mons. Lesseps: by whose authority it does not appear; exhibiting to him this [sic] said, a telegraphic despatch giving full power to the military authority.

About three weeks later, without giving a new date, Brown finished his dispatch, saying, among other things:

The mission of Monsieur Lesseps seemed, & we now know he so viewed it, that of enquiring into the real condition of Rome & he conscientiously fulfilled his duty here. His reward has been for his treaty, disavowed; for himself disgrace.⁴⁷

There is no word in a parallel way from Cass to Clayton, despite the evidence that he took part in the fruitless armistice efforts. The wording of Cass' letters to Miss Fuller does not prove conclusively that he did take part in the negotiations, but only that he was fully and promptly informed of each stage of the negotiations. But the flat statement by Farini that Cass did mediate, and the implication in the letters to Miss Fuller that he did so combine to make it appear that his repeated denials to Clayton were untruths. He says himself that both sides asked him to act as go-between. On the basis of the evidence, it seems that he did so, and then denied his actions. This can be explained on the basis of the insecurity of his position with the Whig administration. If he could have "produced" an armistice, it would have been a real diplomatic triumph for himself and for the United States. But without such a success, his intervention might have been the excuse for which President Taylor and Secretary of State Clayton could recall him. For this reason, he may have determined to admit any participation only if successful.

⁴⁷Brown to Clayton, June 3, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 176-77.

Cass sent a dispatch on June 14 out of the beleaguered city with Carlo Rusconi, minister of foreign affairs, who was going to London to seek aid. The dispatch said all classes of citizens were feeling the hardships of the siege and that vegetables were unobtainable. He said a "threatened scarcity of water" as a result of French interruption of the aqueducts was "a still greater calamity." In the light of the difficulties, he reported "repeated applications . . . by Roman families of the highest distinction, whose names and titles are familiar to you from historic associations, for the protection of the American flag, to guard them against greater outrages than robbery or plunder." An unsigned letter published in the *Detroit Free Press* on July 26, dated from Rome on June 3 and apparently by Cass, told a parallel story of requests for United States protection. Galetti was one of those who made such a request. Cass also declared that the French expedition had been proved "a great political error" that had "produced nothing but discredit for France." He found it difficult to see how, either in military success or defeat, Louis Napoleon could get out of the "embarrassing position" in which the expedition placed France.⁴⁸

Eleven days later Clayton dictated a message to Cass. The chargé's dispatch of May 23 had moved the State Department as Consul Brown's pleas had never done. For the first time, the Clayton instructions of June 25 authorized Cass to present his credentials to the republic or keep on withholding them, as he deemed best. Clayton said President Taylor desired that Cass should enter, at the earliest possible moment, into relations with "any stable government" that might exist in the Papal States. "Although we have not yet learned that the Provisional Government has received the recognition of any other Government, we certainly do not desire to be behind any in this Act of Grace and Courtesy."⁴⁹ Cass, of course, never had the opportunity to exercise this discretion, because the republic fell several weeks before he received the instruction.

The final French attack began, Cass was later to recall, "on the 29th of June, after midnight." He said the French bombardment was "very heavy, shells and grenades falling in every part of the

⁴⁸Cass to Clayton, No. 6, June 14, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 42-44. *Free Press* letter quoted in Feiertag, *American Public Opinion*, 55.

⁴⁹Clayton to Cass, No. 5, June 25, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 44-45.

city." The weather was intensely hot, and Margaret Fuller had spent "the greater portion of her time, during the entire siege," in the hospital among the wounded. Cass told the story two years later to Miss Fuller's sister:

In the afternoon of the 30th, I received a brief note from Miss Fuller, requesting me to call at her residence. I did so without delay, and found her lying upon a sofa, pale and trembling, evidently much exhausted. She informed me that she had sent for me to place in my hands a packet of important papers, which she wished me to keep for the present and in the event of her death, to transmit it to her friends in the United States. She then said that she was married to the Marquis Ossoli, who was in command of a battery on the Pincian hill. That being the highest and most exposed position in Rome, and directly in the line of the bombs from the French camp, it was not to be expected, she said, that he could escape the dangers of another night such as the last, and that therefore it was her intention to remain with him and share his fate. At the Ave Maria, she added, he would come for her, when they would proceed together to his post. The packet which she placed in my possession contained, she said, the certificates of her marriage, and of the birth and baptism of her child. After a few words more I took my departure, the hour she named having nearly arrived. At the porter's lodge I met the Marquis Ossoli and a few minutes afterward I saw them walking toward the Pincian hill. Happily the cannonading was not renewed that night and at the dawn of day she returned to her apartment with her husband by her side.⁵⁰

It is not the purpose of this article to follow the Marquis Ossoli and his American marchesa to Rieti, where their son had been left with a nurse, or on to Florence and then to the sea voyage in which the three of them died in the shipwreck off Fire Island. This is the story of the role of Lewis Cass, Jr. in the revolution. But the fact is that Miss Fuller played a part in Cass' involvement in the final act of the drama of the Roman Republic. It was because of her that he issued some American passports to fleeing Republicans.

The French entered Rome on July 2 (not the first, as Cass remembered in writing to Mrs. Channing nearly two years later). One of the last acts of the republican city government was to send a letter to Cass "accepting the mediation of the *chargé d'affaires* of the United States of America."⁵¹ Just what this mediation was

⁵⁰Lewis Cass, Jr. to Mrs. William Ellery Channing, May 10, 1851, in Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 343-44.

⁵¹Minute in the Archivio Capitolino, Rome, dated July 2, 1849.

and whether it was similarly accepted by the French we do not know. It can be assumed it had to do with the final turnover of the municipal government to the victorious Oudinot. In keeping with the pattern set previously, Cass did not report to Clayton either any offer of mediation or any action of that sort.

On July 3, the French formally occupied Rome and General Oudinot proclaimed martial law in the city. Oudinot ordered those who were not citizens of Rome and who had assisted in the defense of the city to leave and go to their own countries. This was not easy, with a Neapolitan force operating on behalf of the Pope in the southern part of the Papal States and an Austrian force occupying the northern legations. Few wished to trust themselves to the French, who had just been the enemy and who occupied Civitavecchia, the principal port of Rome. That possibly explains Garibaldi's failure to take advantage of a reported Cass offer of a United States corvette to take him and friends from Civitavecchia. Garibaldi and some others of the city's defenders sought to fight their way north to Venice, where the revolutionary Republic of St. Mark still was resisting the Austrians. That group got only to San Marino, where it broke up. The Ossolis went to Rieti. Some persons just "faded away." But there were some, and of these Mazzini and Avezzana are the most important to the present story, who thought it necessary to put themselves under the protection of a strong foreign country, even though they were not its citizens. This was particularly true of persons who had taken part in the 1848 revolt in Lombardy and who were subject to be shot by the Austrian authorities. What happened is explained concisely by Freeman, the United States consul at Ancona:

This induced the English consul[ar agent, John Freeborn], and Mr. Brown the American consul here, to afford those unfortunate (*sic*) soldiers a species of passport (*sic*), which is irregular according to the strict instructions of their different governments. Humanity alone was consulted, in offering these men the only apparent means left to escape the severe fate by which they were threatened.⁵²

George Perkins Marsh, first United States minister to the united

⁵²James E. Freeman to John M. Clayton, July 22, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 369. The corvette reference is made by H. Nelson Gay, "Garibaldi's American Contacts," in the *American Historical Review*, 38:32 (October, 1923).

Kingdom of Italy, estimated that, between them, the two consuls issued about two thousand such "passports."⁵³ Cass said Brown issued a "considerable number." Cass said they were a simple form, asking free transit for the bearer in the name of the American or British governments. Cass said they were issued to those "whose lives were in jeopardy" and that "in no instance was the title of American citizen conferred upon a foreigner."⁵⁴ Avezzana's passport was issued in the name of Everett, and he arrived on that passport in New York in August, 1849.⁵⁵

Brown issued these documents despite the fact he had sent his letter of resignation June 29 and his successor, William C. Sanders, actually had been appointed thirty days earlier, without the knowledge of Cass and Brown in Rome. Brown actually turned over the consulate to Freeman July 5 and left the city on July 7. With his family when they left, disguised as a servant, was Pietro Sterbini, who had been editor of *Contemporaneo*, Rome's first liberal newspaper, and minister of commerce and public works in the ministry set up just before the Pope fled the city.⁵⁶

During the "passport" issuance, an incident occurred in the consulate. It was about 7 or 7:30 p.m. on July 6. A group of twenty to thirty French soldiers was searching for defenders of the city who had not given up arms. As they passed the consulate, two of Brown's servants taunted the soldiers and pointed to the American flag and coat of arms over the door, calling attention to the fact that to enter would be to violate consular immunity. Cass said later that "from my own knowledge of the conduct of Mr. Brown's servants, who are Italian," he was not surprised that the soldiers were angered. The servants' "rudeness and insolence, I regret to say, have been notorious," the minister said. At any rate, the troops took the dare, entered the house and went up the stairs. Mrs. Brown met them

⁵³George Perkins Marsh, United States minister to Italy, to Secretary of State William Seward, No. 236, Florence, November 24, 1868, in the National Archives.

⁵⁴Cass to Clayton, No. 14, September 20, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 59.

⁵⁵Howard R. Marraro, "Garibaldi in New York," in *New York History*, 27:179-202 (April, 1946). Also Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy, 1846-1861*, 172. (New York, 1932).

⁵⁶Nathaniel Niles, United States minister to the Kingdom of Sardinia, to John M. Clayton, No. 32, Turin, August 10, 1849, in the National Archives.

at the door of the family quarters. She claimed to have been menaced by the officer in charge, by his drawn sword, but she did not move aside. After some argument, they retreated down the stairs. In the lower hallway, they arrested two persons waiting for passports.

One of the Brown children called Freeman from the consular office in the same building. He rushed to the balcony in time, he said, once more to draw the attention of the officer and his men "to the flag they had insulted." Cass was summoned; he was interrupted in the middle of writing a dispatch reporting the general situation that followed the French occupation of the city.⁵⁷ When he got to the consulate, he found Brown determined to leave the city that very night. But Cass persuaded him to stay at least until he could protest to Oudinot. Freeman and Brown donned their official consular uniforms and "proceeded at once" to headquarters. Freeman said he "made a clear unexaggerated (*sic*) statement of the facts . . . complaining of the treatments . . . as a gross violation of the usages of civilized nations, asking for such reparation (*sic*) as was expected from other Christian powers under similar circumstances and instancing the honorable *amende* made to the French consulate at Leghorn by the Austrians, which occurred a month since, for a similar insult to the french (*sic*) flag." Oudinot expressed regret and apologized informally, promising appropriate action. He ordered a major to start an investigation at once. It resulted in Freeman's being verbally informed that the two men taken into custody had been freed and the officer and soldiers reprimanded. General Oudinot, through an aide, again expressed his regrets.⁵⁸

Cass apparently became personally involved in the "passport" issuance through Miss Fuller. His later report to her sister is that she and her husband left Rome "on the same day the French army entered Rome." It is clear she did not leave earlier than July 3, the day of the formal occupation, because there is a letter to her from Mazzini that day, word of which obviously got quickly to Cass. The tone of the triumvir's letter was: "It is all over . . . I don't know what I shall do." But the note did not stop with despair:

⁵⁷Cass to Clayton, No. 7, July 6-8, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 45-47.

⁵⁸Freeman to Clayton, July 22, 1849, in Stock, *Consular Relations*, 370-71.

Angelo Brunetti (Ciceruacchio) and his son Lorenzo, twelve years old, but having fought bravely out of the walls, are afraid of the priests and their agents. I have been obliged to promise to them to get, if possible, a passport for them, and I ask you to do that. I could write to Mr. Cass for that but I prefer to avail myself of *your* help. You must have friends among the influential Americans. Could they get the passports with different names, of course, or better, to be filled up with Italian names but of subjects of the U.S., so as to have protection assured, they would do a good action. Could they add a third, it might perhaps be of some use to me hereafter.⁵⁹

Brunetti was an "improviser of verses" and a popular leader in Rome. He was a strong supporter of Pius IX in the period of liberal reforms of the first two years of the Papal reign. He had been slow to join the republican cause, but became commissar of his ward for internal defense (provisioning) during the siege. After leaving Rome, he joined Garibaldi's force on the march north and was made prisoner by the Austrians at Cesanatico. Executed with his son by an Austrian firing squad, he became one of the martyr-heroes of the movement for Italian unification.

On July 7, when Mazzini again wrote to Miss Fuller, he obviously had an American passport. The text does not make clear where she was when she got the note or from whom Mazzini got the passport. This time, he asked:

Do you know of any American or English family traveling towards Switzerland or going to travel? Joining them under a little disguise and with my American passport, the thing would be made easier, of course, were there any chance of finding out one, I could patiently await and keep myself concealed till the day of their departure.⁶⁰

Mazzini left Rome July 12, carrying a passport in the name of Moore.

Word of the passports got back to the United States and Cass, always anxious to avoid embarrassing himself or his father with the Whig administration, thought it necessary to deny any role in the affair. He put this postscript on his dispatch of September 20:

After having enclosed and sealed this Dispatch, I have reopened it, in order to contradict a statement which I have just read in a newspaper, published in New York. It is there asserted, that I have given passports to Italians, in which they are represented as American citizens.

⁵⁹Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 280.

⁶⁰Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 281.

He spoke of the passports issued by Brown, but declared: "In that transaction, I had no agency whatever." But he went on:

I gave open letters to four individuals, among whom were Mazzini, one of the Triumvirate, and Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Canino, President of the Assembly, in which I requested the kind offices of our consuls at two or three of the Mediterranean ports in favor of the bearers who were compelled to seek safety in a foreign country. I cannot recall the names of the other two individuals. I think, Gen. Avezzana was one of them. But he always claimed to be an American citizen.⁶¹

To Miss Fuller, on October 5, Cass told a different story. She apparently had mentioned to him reports that someone in the United States was seeking to obtain his recall because of the passports. He said:

I have never given but three passports to Italians, but in neither of these were the bearers represented to be American citizens. I can ask no favour of the Government in consequence of my father's late attitude towards Gen. Taylor. But no one likes to be aspersed unjustly. If such a charge is made against me I should like a chance to meet it fairly and openly.⁶²

The implication is that the three passports issued by Cass were the three for which Mazzini asked through Miss Fuller. On July 25, Cass informed her that Mazzini and a Nubini otherwise not identified "have both been heard from—safe and well at Geneva." The same letter informed Miss Fuller regarding another of her republican friends in Rome, Princess Belgioioso, and it seems likely that Cass' efforts for her, too, whether any passport was issued or not, resulted from Margaret Fuller's urging. "After working a good many days in her behalf," Cass wrote to Rieti, "we got her off without the knowledge of the authorities. She left for Malta." Mazzini showed little gratitude for help Cass may have given, writing later that "Cass . . . behaved very badly; if he had recognized us, as he ought to have, it would have helped us greatly. Brown, the American consul in Rome, conducted himself very well."⁶³ Later Cass gave Miss Fuller the sequel to the story of the Mrs. Brown

⁶¹Cass to Clayton, No. 14, September 20, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 59.

⁶²Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 334-35.

⁶³Cass' letter is in Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 326. Mazzini's letter is in Giuseppe Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, 42:17. (Imola, 1905-43) and translated in Rossi, *Image of America*, 69.

who stood up to the French officer's sword in the United States consulate. On February 20, 1850, he wrote:

Have you heard that Mrs. Brown, our quondam Consules, has been ordered to leave Naples? It appears she has been making herself very conspicuous there, by assembling around her a few rather *mauvais sujets*, forgetting that she no longer possessed inviolability of domicile and the authorities in the most pre-emptory manner compelled her to leave.⁶⁴

The summer that immediately followed the French occupation of Rome was doubly dolorous to Cass. He was disappointed in the outcome of the republican experiment and also ill with an eye infection. He was glum and lonely. The Papal court and the other diplomats had not returned to the city. Writing to Miss Fuller on July 25, he joked, bachelor-fashion, with her about coming to Rieti with romantic intentions toward some "nonpareil" in the group of countesses the American woman had come to know there. But then he lapsed into melancholy:

The *tedium vitae* is wearing my heart away. I feel thus and it makes me sick of the toil of struggling thro' life. . . . At present there is not another American in the city. Our artist friends, *et id omne genus*, have gone to Albano. The town in its aristocratic display, begins to resemble old days before dreams of liberty disturbed the sleep of people—the nobility *et ces gens* are returning. The Corso and such places are thronged with equipages and rich liveries, which have been so long reposing in obscurity. Priests and monks walk about with a bold, erect air, and it is whispered that their Christian hearts have already found compensation for their late eclipse in visiting their tender mercies upon sundry members of the republican party.

He went on to tell Miss Fuller of the difficulties the French victors were having. He said the French desired to restore the Pope to his capital on the terms of the liberal reforms conceded in 1848, while the Austrians were supposed to be urging that Pius return to Rome under the political conditions existing at the time of his election. Cass believed "the Pope is . . . chiefly swayed by the Counsels of Austria." Miss Fuller wrote to the New York *Tribune*, in a dispatch published August 11, that although she would "always regret" the failure to recognize the republic that Cass' kind, sympathetic and gentlemanly course had "from the minds of most removed all

⁶⁴Detti, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 340.

unpleasant feelings" over nonrecognition.⁶⁵ Miss Fuller would forgive him if Mazzini would not.

By August 10, Cass could report to Rieti that a Papal commission had taken over the operation of the government from the French and that "in fact there is deadly war between Oudinot and the Cardinals." That letter apparently was written at the worst of Cass' eye inflammation; he said he was writing from a dark room. But he said Americans again were arriving in the city, apparently tourists, as it would have been too early for a return of the artists from Albano.⁶⁶ The pain of his eyes and his bitterness over the defeat of liberalism both were reflected also in his dispatch of August 14 to Clayton:

The overthrow of the republican party . . . must now be taken as a fact. [Because of the reestablishment of the cardinals' rule.] The late issue was not, as the European press has so constantly insinuated, between anarchy and order; it was between constitutional representative government, and the most benumbing despotism. . . . When this Revolution is set before us in the exact proportions with which history will adjust it, it will be seen that, in the principle involved, something more was at stake than the independence of Rome, or the ascendancy of the Triumvirate, viz., the peace, liberties, progress and civilization of Europe against the very existence of irresponsible and despotic government.⁶⁷

Cass' eye inflammation remained for the rest of the month, although by his next letter to Miss Fuller, on August 25, he could report it "diminishing." He also told her that the commission of three cardinals was having difficulty forming a ministry and that the French government had recalled Oudinot "in consequence of dissatisfaction . . . at some of his recent acts which were considered too violent and illiberal." He said diplomatic negotiations in reference to the terms of the Pope's restoration still were pending.⁶⁸

At about the same time, Cass was in a philosophical mood in reporting to Clayton. He wrote:

I have repeatedly noticed in my experience . . . in Europe, that when those classes by which revolutions are commenced and encouraged,

⁶⁵Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 321-22. Feiertag, *American Public Opinion*, 63.

⁶⁶Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 326.

⁶⁷Cass to Clayton, No. 12, August 14, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 52.

⁶⁸Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 328.

begin to feel their consequences directly in their pursuits and avocations, a reaction . . . rapidly succeeds in favor of the very authorities whom they deposed.

This, he felt, had helped to make the Romans, especially the laboring classes which had suffered so severely in the siege, look with anticipation toward the return of Pius. Business, he said, was reviving and "the people are sick of revolution." Occasion for this report was that on September 3, Cass was visited by Cardinal Della Genga Sermattei, president of the governing commission. They had discussed the "large increase" of imports of American products into the Papal States in the late 1840's and the Cardinal "spoke freely and frankly of the absurd restrictions, ruinous monopolies and frivolous impediments, with which commerce in Italy is fettered." Cass brought up the subject of the prohibitive tariff on tobacco and the Cardinal promised that "the entire commercial policy of the Papal States was about to undergo revision." Cass also reported:

In the course of the conversation, which, to me, was a very interesting one, the Cardinal adverted to the late party in power, and observed that the course pursued by the United States in refraining from hastily recognizing the Republic, had accorded very great satisfaction to the Pope, who is an enthusiastic admirer of America, and its institutions. He stated it to be the intention of the Pontiff to make a liberal concession to the just demands of the people. . . . Pius IX possesses advantages at this time for establishing liberal institutions, such as no Italian ruler has hitherto enjoyed.⁶⁹

That was the official report to the State Department. There was no such tone of hopefulness or optimism in what Cass wrote to Miss Fuller. He realized that a "people . . . sick of revolution" could win no concessions. And he said he was himself sick—"sick of life. The very future shows nothing worth the toil of struggling on." He declared he had been informed "by a high source . . . that the Pope objects to all conditions requiring the adoption of a constitution." He repeated that Oudinot had been recalled "in disgrace," and that General Louis de Rostolan, Oudinot's successor, had resigned and that the French army was much discontented with its position. Worst of all, he went on:

⁶⁹Cass to Clayton, No. 13, September 4, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 54-56.

A most unchristian plan is afoot. France and Austria have proposed to guarantee the integrity of the Roman states both from internal and external enemies and to declare them neutral in all questions of war, exercising over them a kind of protectorate in common in order to save His Holiness a repetition of the late scenes. Any such arrangement as this, it appears to me, which should connect the integrity of the Pope's temporal sovereignty with the guarantee of all or any of the European powers would be infamous in the extreme, and so far as it tends to curtail the imprescriptible right of the Roman people to modify their form of gov.t at pleasure, would be null and void by the maxims of public right, which no technical rule of international jurisprudence can supersede—no treaty can override, no precedents can overturn. . . . It appears, however, to be resolved upon—alas for the people.⁷⁰

Formal reestablishment of the pontifical government was announced on September 16, along with an amnesty. Numerous members of the diplomatic corps returned to Rome. Part of the French forces left, and the remainder, along with a Spanish force of five thousand, was "placed at the disposal of the Pope." Giacomo Cardinal Antonelli again became the secretary of state.⁷¹ On September 19, before receiving this notification, Clayton sent instructions to Cass that it was "the President's object and wish . . . that you should place yourself, at the earliest practicable moment, in diplomatic intercourse with any stable government of the Papal States, which may exist."⁷² These were almost the same words as those of June 25, but this time the instructions were capable of being carried out.

When the instructions were written, however, Cass was in bed "with Roman fever," which kept him ailing more than two weeks. When he was "able to get about for a little while," he wrote anew to Miss Fuller that "people have given over predicting what will be the finale." Miss Fuller and her republican husband, by then in Florence, must have enjoyed Cass' acid comments about the troops Ossoli had been fighting barely more than three months previously:

The French are in bad humor. They are discontented with their situation, and want to get away from Rome. The prospect of remaining here, since there is no indication of an adjustment of the difficulties,

⁷⁰Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 330.

⁷¹Cass to Clayton, No. 14, September 20, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 57.

⁷²Clayton to Cass, No. 7, September 19, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 56-57.

brings out not a few sacrès. The Romans have risen much in my opinion, in consequence of their deportment towards the army. They have shown a great deal of consistency. They avoid all intercourse with the officers, not one of whom can boast of having received any civilities.⁷³

Pius did not return to the city until April of the following year, but on November 19, Cass presented his letter of credence to Cardinal Antonelli. For the diplomatic ceremony of presentation, the harsh words he had spoken against the pontifical government in the months since April were laid aside. He told the Cardinal:

There are associations connected with the history of this interesting country, which give it a peculiar claim to the regard of the civilized world. And this feeling prevails as strongly among my countrymen, as in any other region, and the name and fame of Rome are taught in the pages of her own historians in the schools of the United States, and make part of the treasures of learning spread over the land. The American people will never be indifferent to the welfare of the Sovereign and people of this country.⁷⁴

Antonelli replied with similar honeyed words and added that "in the vast domains of the United States are many who are kindred to us by descent and religious faith, and their existence serves as a new tie between the two countries."⁷⁵ By this ceremony, Lewis Cass, Jr. became at last an accredited diplomat, United States chargé d'affaires to the Papal States.

⁷³Detti, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 333.

⁷⁴Cass to Clayton, No. 16, November 21, 1849, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 61.

⁷⁵Inclosure in Cass to Clayton, No. 25, May 9, 1850, in Stock, *United States Ministers*, 69. Cass was delayed in obtaining the official copy of Antonelli's response.

The Indian Agency House at Sault Ste Marie

Mrs. Carroll Paul

THIS PAST SUMMER SAULT STE MARIE, ON BOTH SIDES of the rapids of the St. Mary's River, has been celebrating a centennial: a hundred years since the first set of locks was built by young Charles T. Harvey. Built in two years, 1853 to 1855, it was a staggering achievement under any circumstances, with results that have far outrun anything even that young man could have imagined or foreseen.

While on the job, Harvey, as superintendent, rented the Indian agency house,¹ which was still after twenty-five years the only mansion of any pretension to be found west of Mackinac. At that time it had suffered no indignities of alteration; as one approached it from the river landing, it stood in Jeffersonian simplicity and refinement among magnificent elms; the main house, with its tall stone chimneys and classic gables, had two smaller buildings, east and west, connected to it by covered passageways.²

After Harvey's day, the old building passed through many hands and was remodeled more than once. Concerning one tenant, Peter Barbeau, an influential trader who lived there from 1878 to 1882, we know a little, and also, we are told that a family named Spencer lived there many years. Just who added the large west wing and the high pitched roof with dormers of various sizes and design; or why, or when the one-story building to the east of the main structure was torn down, nobody seems to know.

Of late years, it has belonged to the Union Carbide Company. After an unsuccessful attempt to use it as an office building, all the windows were boarded up, and the poor old wreck was used only to store boxes full of old business paper.

This spring the ancient structure, now in its one hundred and twenty-eighth year, presented a pitiful appearance. None of the fine old trees that gave it, long ago, the name of Elmwood, have survived. The covered windows, the dingy paint, the rotten steps leading to

¹Built in 1827 by the United States government for the first Indian agent stationed at the Soo, Henry R. Schoolcraft.

²See report by Professor Lorch on pages 56-61.

jigsaw stoops masked the fine proportions of the original building as effectively as a clumsy repainting can disguise a faded old master.

And then, astonishing news! The Union Carbide Company yielded at last to the city's request that the old building be opened and made use of as part of the centennial program.

Only a few weeks in which to make ready. If the outside looked discouraging, it was nothing to the sight presented by the interior. Dust and dirt on top of neglect left dark, mouldy paper hanging in strips from the walls; plaster fallen in great patches from ceilings, broken window-panes, and peeling paint; yet the dignified entrance hall still led to large, handsome rooms of fine proportion, their fireplaces still intact, their mantels hand-carved, their woodwork and panelling still carrying the mark of good workmanship.

In an incredibly short time, with high-school boys helping to scrape off old paper, and men from the carbide company working with city carpenters and painters, the old part of the building was put into condition to suggest its former dignity as the premier mansion of the Northwest Territory.

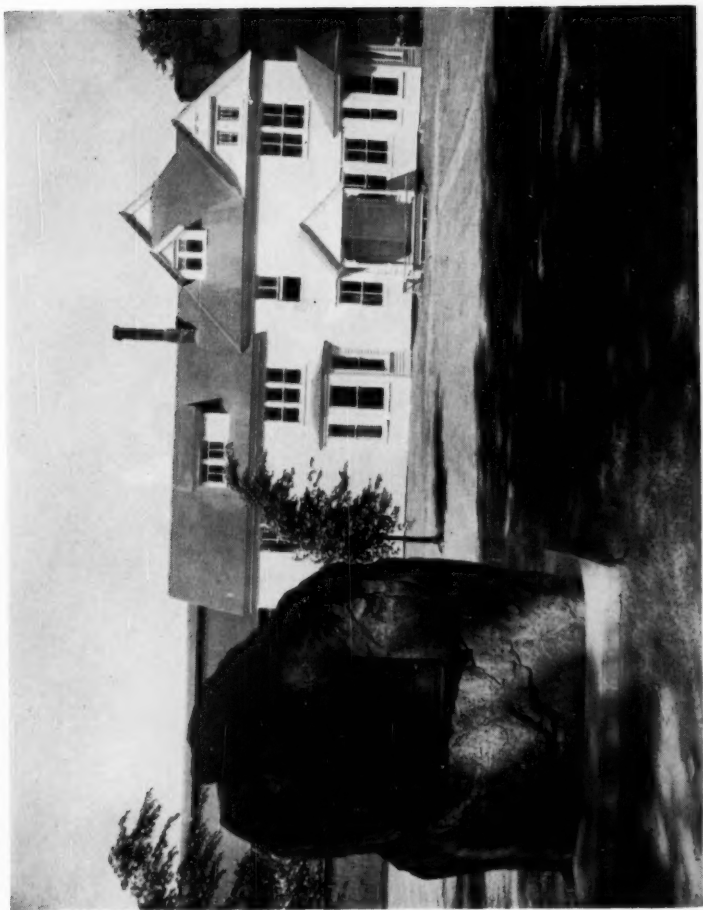
Now you can walk across a broad lawn to a freshly painted house, and enter through what used to be the back door, into the wide central hall. The fine old front door with fanlight and side windows—since it now has no steps leading up to a latticed porch outside,—is kept closed.

On our left hand we see the stairway with its restored newel post, and on our right through open doors one looks into parlor and dining room.

In the parlor are assembled furnishings of the 1875 period, many of them given in memory of the Peter Barbeau family who lived here many years;³ his picture rests on the mantel; the marble clock and the piano stand once again in their places.

Through a wide low arch, one passes into the dining room which holds memories of Charles T. Harvey, who entertained distinguished visitors in 1853 and 1854, such as Governor Erastus Fairbanks of Vermont and John W. Brooks, superintendent of the Michigan Central Railroad, on their visits of inspection to note progress of the

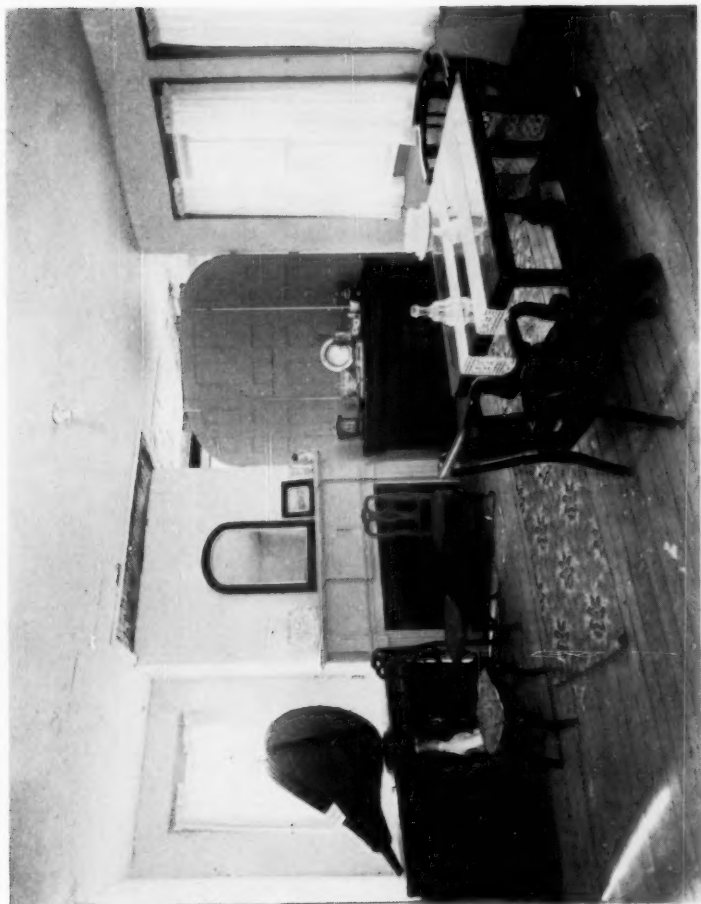
³By Miss Olice Pendill of Marquette, granddaughter of Peter Barbeau and his wife, *née* Archange LaLonde.



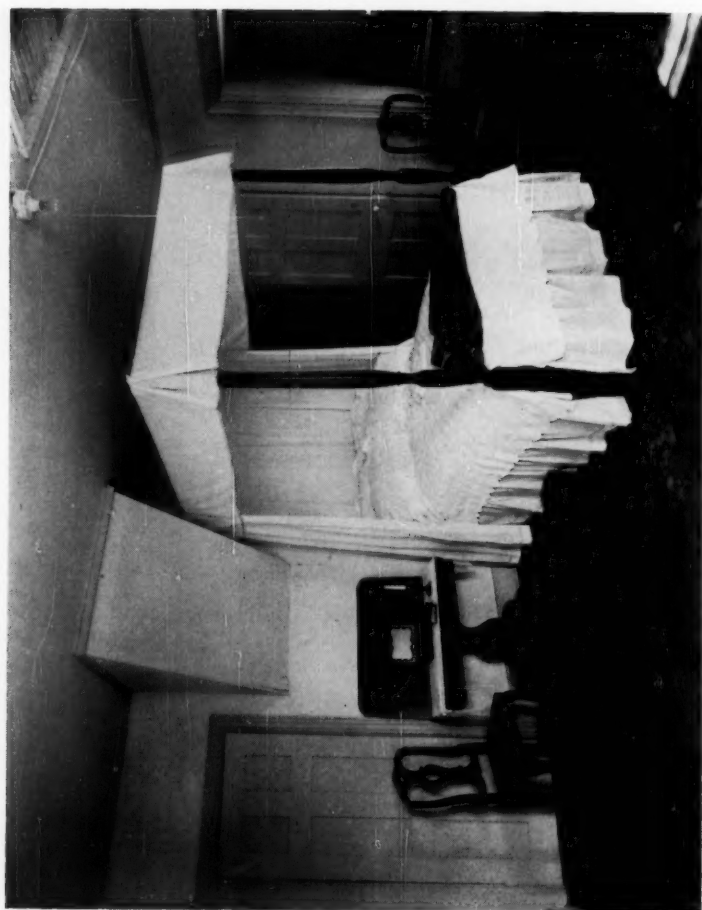
THE SCHOOLCRAFT INDIAN AGENCY HOUSE: NOW THE HEADQUARTERS OF
THE CHIPPEWA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY



THE AGENCY HOUSE: PARLOR ON FIRST FLOOR



THE AGENCY HOUSE: DINING ROOM



THE AGENCY HOUSE: BEDROOM ON SECOND FLOOR

wonderful canal project.⁴ In May of 1855, Harvey triumphed over formidable obstacles to bring it to completion within the time specified.

In one corner of this room stands a huge bellows from an old blacksmith's forge, such as was used by Harvey to weld his famous five hundred-pound pile-driver head, and on a sideboard an old-style pewter iced-tea pitcher with goblets recalls teetotaler Harvey's favorite tipple—a drink called raspberry shrub.

On the wall an 1850 map gives the United States as it was then—when most of Michigan was still wilderness. In the next twenty-five years, Harvey's canal was to change all that and lay the foundation for the growth of the Middle West.

Now, going up the stairs, we find another wide hall with long French windows that once gave onto a balcony overlooking the river.

Here stands a remarkable piece of furniture,⁵ part of the podium or Speaker's bench that originally stood in the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg, before the Revolution. It moved west with government and stood in Marietta, Ohio, when that was headquarters for the whole Northwest Territory. It traveled thence to Detroit and then on to Lansing, where it served in the first crude capitol building.

The whole of this second floor is devoted to the memory of the Schoolcraft family, the first occupants of the ancient mansion. The house was built for Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the first Indian agent in this whole wilderness territory of the Upper Lakes. We may well imagine that he had a hand in designing the house to fit the special needs of his family and of the agency, as it was set up in 1826-1827.

The first room we look into is set up to represent the austere study of a man who, besides being an authority on the Indian tribes of the area: the Ojibway (which he wrote Chippewa), the Ottawas, and the Potawatomi, was also a geologist, a botanist, and a linguist. In fact, he was an all-around scientific man, such as existed in those early days when not too much was known about any of these now highly differentiated branches of knowledge.

His books and papers are spread out on the big table, his secretary bookcase is full of important documents, and over by the man-

⁴Fairbanks brothers formed a corporation at Harvey's instance to build the Sault canal; it cost them a million dollars, but in payment they received 750,000 acres of government land in Michigan.

⁵On loan from the Michigan Historical Museum, Lansing.

tel we see some sporting equipment, including a wicker bottle of wine, much drunk at this time, when sanitation was not one of the scientific subjects studied in universities.

On the hearth, hiding some broken bricks, lies a large cat, which reminds us that in 1827 cats were not just pampered pets, but important members of a pioneer household which was ever beset by legions of hungry mice.

A connecting door stands open to the next room, planned as the bedroom of Schoolcraft's invalid wife *née* Jane Johnston, favorite daughter of the Irish aristocrat, John Johnston, fur trader at the Sault, who married the Ojibway princess, O-shau-gus-coday-way-gua, daughter of the famous chief Wabojee (White Fisher).⁶

Poor Jane, dark beauty, too ladylike for the rough society of the frontier, gave birth to children, and then faded away to an early death.

The fourposter, complete with bed furniture of draperies and featherbed, under a shell-knit coverlet dominates the room—yet here by the hearth stands a deep easy chair with footstool, and on the handsome chest of drawers we see perfume bottles and mirror. Jane herself, however, is missing!

A small room nearby is furnished as the nursery of the Schoolcraft children: small dark Johnston, a baby in the big swinging cradle, and pretty blonde Jane on the floor playing doctor with her rag dolls—Jane who later grew up to be one of the first women physicians in the United States!

In the whole house, the memory of those who have gone before is paramount, even though the means used are admittedly sketchy. Here is no complete restoration, for gaps in the plaster, broken brickwork, and makeshift carpentry leap to the eye. Yet considering the time and effort involved, the fine old house has nobly responded. It gives one hope that before long a true restoration may be accomplished. Then Michigan may show its Jefferson-designed mansion of the West in full splendor—a house as fine or finer than any similar restoration such as one sees in Wisconsin and other states alive to their heritage from the past.

Discoveries were made while cleaning up the old house that show us the detached one room structure to the west was not torn down,

⁶*The Invasion* by Janet Lewis tells the romantic story of the Johnston family.

but transformed into the kitchen at the end of the large modern west wing. This is shown by the type of lath and plaster, now in ruinous condition, the mitred moldings around the doors, and the outlines of the fireplace hearth still to be plainly seen on the floor. It may be possible to restore this room, at small expense, before the main restoration is undertaken.

The Architecture of the Indian Agency House

Emil Lorch

OF ALL OLD MICHIGAN HOUSES the older part of the Schoolcraft Indian Agency or Henry Rowe Schoolcraft house is one of the oldest. Rich in associations with those who brought distinction to Sault Ste Marie, it was for years half-forgotten and over-shadowed by the great powerhouse of its owner, The Union Carbide Company.

Not only has the house had distinguished tenants but it has witnessed the development of the north country, of Great Lakes shipping, and industry.

Here was the first Michigan Indian agency with the humane, fair-dealing, and scholarly Henry R. Schoolcraft as agent. At a short distance was the homestead of the first local settler, John Johnston, who established a fur-trading center and built the first real dwelling more than two decades before Schoolcraft came to the area with Governor Cass in 1820. Schoolcraft returned a few years later and married Jane, the beautiful half-Indian daughter of Johnston; it is an old story.¹ Both houses were occupied for a time by Schoolcraft: the agency which was built for his use, and the existing part of the Johnston house which was built in 1823 for Schoolcraft and his wife by Johnston before the construction of Elmwood, as the new place was called. Schoolcraft remained at the Soo until 1833 when he removed to Mackinac Island. He moved to Detroit in 1836, and in 1841 to Washington where he died in 1864, after devoting over forty years to the interests of the Indians and in writing authoritatively about them. His studies of Indian lore inspired "The Song of Hiawatha" by Longfellow.

The great builder of the canal, Charles T. Harvey, lived there during the construction of the canal, after which came Peter Barbeau and his daughter, Henrietta, and her husband, Myron W. Scranton. The Scrantons built the two-story west wing and lived in the house nearly twenty years until 1898.

American architecture flourished during the existence of the house, in Michigan and elsewhere, running the gamut of post-colonial, the

¹Janet Lewis, *The Invasion*. (New York, 1932.)

classical, and the medieval styles to renaissance and to the modern skyscraper and the one-floor house. The first two appeared at the Soo in modest form with American log and French-Canadian framed log construction; the latter can be seen in the John Johnston house. After the colonial period the characteristic Georgian architecture which was distinctive of that area continued to be employed in modified form. Thus in the agency house the classical pediment or molded triangular gable was used, the rest of the building being of late or post-colonial, or the design which continued after the War of Independence.

The formal composition of the house, of a central block and symmetrical lower wings, was a favorite arrangement for classical designers. This symmetrical effect appears in an illustration of the Schoolcraft house published about 1887, which might indicate that the reconstruction of the house as now seen came after that date.²

The original front of the house was on the north with a view of the river, on ground sloping slightly toward the shore. The ground level may have risen somewhat inasmuch as the south basement window heads and the water-table are so near the grade line.

The original two-story block, about thirty-four feet square, with two high chimneys on the east side, is recognizable in the present complex. The old wings have disappeared, that on the west having been replaced largely or entirely by the present two-story west section. Today the original square block would be called a six-room house. Adjoining the wide stair hall and a small room are two large rooms, about twenty by sixteen feet with fireplaces, perhaps the parlor, dining room, and kitchen. This space arrangement repeats on the second floor with a narrow stair to the present attic, apparently higher than the original and with later finish.

In the basement the masonry walls follow the first floor scheme, the basement being reached by stairs below the main stairway. At the second floor level, the former small flat-topped and railed entrance porch was accessible by the narrow, glazed double doors.

The old west wing may have served as an office for Schoolcraft, and in addition to the former east wing there must have been some

²The "Soo"; *Scenes in and Around Sault Ste Marie, Michigan, with Descriptive Text*, edited by Chase S. Osborne, 10 (Milwaukee, 1887).

out-buildings, at least a barn, for the isolated and quite self-sufficient establishment. The kitchen and shed may have been in the former east wing.

The exterior, though formal in arrangement, was quite plain and unaffected. Its most interesting feature is the north entrance, now without porch, and in need of repair. Within its elliptical headed opening the door is set between mullions and narrow side lights, an honored colonial arrangement, with slight moldings of graceful outline. Of course in the sumptuous colonial houses of Philadelphia and Salem the transom and side lights would have had delicate tracery of lead, hardly to be expected at the frontier. The colonial character is also seen on the interior in elliptical openings, moldings of capitals, in nice six-panel doors and window trim and details of mantels; also in the plain upper stair newels and slender balusters. Refinement marks the general design of the interior; elaborateness appears in the two principal mantels, heavily and knowingly molded; they and the other wood finish may have been brought from Detroit by the builder. The shelf ends of the mantels extend beyond the sides of the chimneys, and on the mantels are elliptical sunbursts and other ornaments, some of which are set against the brick faces in quite unfrontier-like style.

In the first story a striking feature is the elliptical arch-headed opening between the two large rooms and the beautiful three-leafed door, a single and a double folding leaf, allowing privacy for the rear room when desired. The door paneling is well proportioned and in excellent condition; the arch springs from capped and molded casings. The details vary in the other arched openings, the capitals of the entrance projecting more widely than others. Though the lightness and elegance of some of these elements contrast somewhat with the marked simplicity of others, such as the upper balustrade and the plain mantel in the northeast bedroom on the one hand, and the heavier detail of the other mantels on the other, the general character remains colonial in spirit with the parts harmonizing well.

In the building there is nothing of the heavier Greek Revival style which became Michigan's most outstanding early style, and which passed out with the Civil War. Later the building was en-

larged and restyled at a time when informality, picturesqueness, and a debased taste replaced the more restrained and tradition-guarded colonial.

The builder of the Sault's agency house was Obed Wait of Detroit. In a letter to Schoolcraft he reported on progress of the building operation.³ He had received the materials needed for completing the building "late in the fall"; there had been difficulty with the foundation making it necessary to use spiles on top of which large flat stones were laid; the flooring of the basement was finished, the other floors were being worked on; one of the east chimneys was up and the other well along. It would require seven days by schooner for some additional help to come, presumably from Detroit. One man had fallen out of an upper window, another imbibed unduly and his scrapes would keep him from crossing the border again. Mr. Schoolcraft's "hint as to economy would be duly respected," etc.

Obed Wait had superintended construction of Detroit's courthouse, begun in 1823, and may have designed it.⁴ It was an important structure of colonial design which served as Michigan's first capitol until 1847. The design of the agency building may also have been by Wait, who might have known Schoolcraft in Detroit.

With enlargement almost doubling its size, and subsequent alterations, the exterior appearance was changed from a rather sober and regular composition to an irregular, restless mass. The main roof became a high-hip type which was broken by gables and dormer windows. The somewhat lower roof of the new west wing was gabled, and on the north-west corner of the house a one-and-a-half story unit was added. Double, triple, and bay windows were introduced, and a north recessed porch, also kitchen and south front porches with shop-turned posts indicating the machine age and its whimsicality in design. Luckily the building escaped some of the extravagant vagaries of the jigsaw and "bracket" type in becoming one of the big and comfortable mansions of the time adapted to a more expansive mode of life. Architectural style had become a matter of fashion.

The new west wing provided a dining room with a bay window,

³Obed Wait to Henry R. Schoolcraft, July 6, 1827, in the National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁴Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 474 (Detroit, 1884).

pantries, and a kitchen on the south side, a back stairs to the second floor, and three bedrooms varying in size and shape, also a bathroom. The south part of this wing has a stone foundation but no basement. The low northwest portion, with neither foundation nor basement, is supported on posts of tamarack.

Meanwhile the interior received casings with corner blocks having a circular turned pattern, five-panel doors and that unhappy little mantel in the new and deep dining room.

With use of the structure for offices, 1898-1922, minor interior changes were made and a brick vault built at the east side of the southeast room. After removal of the Carbide offices in 1922 the house was closed and shuttered to be opened for an occasional visitor.

For all those who have long hoped for a restoration of the original and historic building a miracle has now occurred. Through the generosity of the Union Carbide Company and the cooperation of the city of Sault Ste Marie the house has been freshened up and painted for use by the Chippewa County Historical Society. In July, 1955, it was dedicated, with Governor Williams in attendance, and opened to the public.

In preparing the building for use wonders were accomplished through cooperation by the Carbide Company and the city, by Miss Myrtle Elliott, president of the Chippewa County Historical Society, and particularly by Mrs. Carroll Paul who came from Marquette to supervise some of the preliminary work and the furnishing of the original section of the house. Furniture and other objects were loaned by the Michigan Historical Museum of Lansing, the Marquette County Historical Society, and the Chippewa County Historical Society, and by citizens of Sault Ste Marie.

The Carbide Company opened the house and had the exterior washed so it could be painted. On the interior the shredded wall-paper was stripped off and the walls painted, the woodwork was washed and painted, and the floors scrubbed as thoroughly as if they were in Holland. A makeshift enclosing partition was removed from the main stairs and a temporary newel and balustrade, which Mrs. Paul found, were installed. Finally the rusty piping and radiators were taken out.

After this make-ready the three rooms of the second story were furnished in the 1830 period as study and bedrooms of Mr. and Mrs. Schoolcraft and child. Downstairs a parlor was devoted to Peter Barbeau and 1875, the other large room to the canal construction period of 1853-1855 and its brilliant builder, Charles T. Harvey. Then the house began its new life and was thrown open to the public which responded enthusiastically, about thirty-five hundred admissions being recorded during the first six weeks.

Now that the preservation of the house seems assured, it is hoped that its restoration will eventually be brought about. It provides the Chippewa County Historical Society with appropriate quarters; and memories of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, Charles Harvey, and others will be evoked in an intimate manner. With its exhibits the house may become an inspiration to the community, perhaps self-sustaining, and the place a mecca for the many visitors to Sault Ste Marie.

Things I Remember: A Girlhood in Michigan

*Edited by Lewis Beeson with an Introduction by
Dortha Sheldon Bean*

HENRY, CONRAD, AND GILBERT ROW, THREE BROTHERS, early pioneers of Michigan, were born in Amenia, Dutchess County, New York. They with their families emigrated to Michigan Territory in the fall of 1831. Leaving their teams at the Hudson River, the party took a sloop to Albany, a canal boat to Buffalo, and a ship across Lake Erie. In Detroit a yoke of oxen was bought and the wagon they had brought with them was put together. The brothers loaded it with chests of bedding, clothing, and other household goods; and with their wives and children atop all this, the men walking, they started for the home of William Row, a cousin who lived in Pittsfield Township. The roads were nearly impassable. Often it was necessary to unload and pry the wagons out of the mudholes. Hand-spikes lay thick along the way where other teamsters had used and then discarded them.

Arriving at the cousin's place, the men left their families with him, and in company with a surveyor named Smith Lapham, they started out to hunt themselves homes in the western wild. They located in Sharon Township, Washtenaw County. The name, Row Settlement was given this location. There they were joined later by two other brothers, Nicholas and John. Here they spent many years in great harmony and prosperity.

Conrad Row was married to Rebecca A. Hull. Their daughter, Clarissa, married Frederick J. Williams. Virginia L., the second daughter of Frederick and Clarissa Williams, married James E. Butler. Virginia Williams Butler, now eighty-nine years old, is living in San Diego, California. Mrs. Butler has set down her recollections of her Michigan childhood.

All members of the Row family belonged to the Methodist Episcopal church. They brought with them to this new country vital Christianity, which they all exemplified in their lives.

The building of the first log house with its wide, stick chimney; the fireplace filled with huge logs; the bedstead made of tamarack poles, with only one post; are things to remember. Straw ticks were filled with marsh hay. The first table was made of whitewood board. Its legs were like those of a sawhorse. For a cupboard holes were bored in the logs of the house and pins put in to lay the shelves on. Until the household goods came from Detroit, bread was baked in a dish kettle with the spider turned over it and coals of fire on top. Then came the famous tin bakers first the single reflector, which must have coals in the lower part to bake! then the double reflector, which baked nicely without requiring coals under it.

When the Row family reached Michigan, there was enough food to satisfy good appetites. Venison, wild honey, and cranberries abounded. Mince pies were made of cranberries and pumpkin, and bean porridge was eaten often. The first winter, water was obtained from a neighbor three miles away, except as snow or ice was melted. In the spring a well was dug.

Indians often visited the family. Sometimes these visitors slept overnight by the fire. The family had no fear of them.

In the spring of the year fires used to run over the plains, burning up the dry grass, fallen timber, and many of the trees. Then the grass would spring up and a succession of the most beautiful flowers of almost every kind and color would appear. Soon, however, the country became settled. Log houses and sheds, little patches of wheat, and other crops appeared. Fever and ague became prevalent. Quinine by the bottle was used without stint. But fever and ague, the Indians, wolves, bears, and big snakes passed away; and schools and churches appeared.

The above history of the Row family has been condensed from notes and memoranda compiled by Fred, Charles, and Milo Row, the "affectionate sons" of Henry Row and his wife Priscilla. This written history of the family is but a part of the traditions and memories that Mrs. Butler, when a young girl in Michigan, absorbed from the older members of her family. A recollection of the primitive pioneer living conditions of the 1830's was passed on to her. She, in turn, has given us the childhood impressions of a girl in the 1870's which, in contrast with life in Michigan today, seems in turn to us to be primitive and pioneering.

THINGS I REMEMBER

Virginia L. Butler

I WAS BORN ON FEBRUARY 13, 1867, in Sharon Township, Washtenaw County. The first thing I can remember was having just moved into a house in Manchester when I was three years old and following my mother upstairs with a lighted kerosene lamp in her hand. On her way down she fell and injured her back, from which she suffered all the rest of her life.

It was about this time that my sister, Antoinette Lovell Williams, was very ill and not expected to recover. She was engaged to marry Emmet Newton Palmer, a young physician.¹ So great was his love for her that he married her while she was unconscious. She eventually recovered and lived until 1888, when she died at the age of thirty-eight. They had only one child, Frederick Palmer, who became a colonel in World War I. He was a physician like his father. I was Fred's aunt at five years of age. My sister was seventeen years older than I, and we were our parents' only children.

For the next two years I must have hibernated or been too busy exploring the new world that I had come into so that I had no time to store up events in my memory, for I was five before I remember the next exciting event.

My father had bought a farm about a mile east of Manchester and was having a house and barn built. One time when he and my mother and I went out on an inspection trip, one of the carpenters made me a clock face by tacking two small sticks for hands on a round board and marking the twelve numbers around the edge. Toys were not so plentiful in those days and this was so wonderful to me that the pleasure of it lingers with me all these years.

I wish that every child could live some part of his early life on a farm. No other environment or condition can compare with it. A city child can go to the market and can see fruit and vegetables on display, but he knows nothing of the preparation of the ground for

¹For Emmet Newton Palmer, see the article, "Reflections in the River Raisin," by his daughter, Marion Palmer Greene, in *Michigan History*, 33:47-64, 232-39 (March, September, 1949), and particularly pages 234-35. Editor.

their planting or of their growth from stage to stage. He can go to the zoo and see lions, tigers, and monkeys penned up in their cages, but he knows nothing of how horses, cows, sheep, pigs, and chickens live and bring up their young.

I remember one old hen I had for a pet. Her name was Biddy. She took such good care of her children, the little chicks; she kept them from straying and clucked her admonitions about danger. She searched for tidbits for them and when they came running at her call, it was a matter of first come, first served.

One time a young boy, Barrett Robinson, was visiting us. Just to plague me he snatched up my Biddy, and ran to the nearby brook, and held her head under water until I screamed so loud that his mother and mine came to the rescue of poor Biddy. But bad Barrett had his fun in frightening me.

One summer afternoon my mother went to bring the cows home from the pasture for milking. She had them rounded up ready to go through the gate when an old ram spied her from where he was guarding his flock of ewes, charged at her with his head lowered, and struck her and knocked her down with his horns. She scrambled to her feet, snatched her sunbonnet off her head, waved it before his eyes so that he could not see where to charge again, and so escaped through the gate and won the battle. The sheep used to get sores between their two toes. I remember so well helping my father by holding a dish of green medicine while he swabbed their poor feet with it. It would sizzle and bubble in the sore, but sheep are so docile when they are caught and set on their back that they submit to almost anything, even when the shears clip their flesh as they are sheared.

There is not much to remember about cows. We always had a number of them, but cows are so commonplace; they go about life in such a routine way, giving birth to their calves, chewing their cud with no upper teeth and ruminating. I never milked a cow except to get milk to feed the cats.

Horses are so different, they have individuality. When I was a girl we had an old grey mare which was totally blind. Fan was such a faithful old gal. I used to ride her side saddle. I wore a riding habit. She was so patient and faithful, obeying the slightest touch of the rein and bit without hesitation. Bless her old heart.

Then I recall with less respect Fanny; a tall gaunt animal, but with a brain in her head. When I would go into the pasture to catch her to ride or drive somewhere, she would be standing quietly here or there in the field eating grass. She would see me, but would keep right on eating until I was about to take hold of her mane and put on her halter, when up would come her head and her heels and her tail and Fanny would be way off over on the other side of the field busily eating grass again, but with one wicked eye on me, and when I was near enough again to put out my hand to her mane, up and off was she in a repeat performance. After playing the game as long as she wanted to she would nuzzle my hand and stand quietly while I put the halter on, as much as to say, "come on honey, let's go get hitched up for your trip." Instead of chasing her around the pasture, I would have saved time and strength had I walked to the place I wanted to go.

I was quite an expert at halter-breaking colts. I and the colts were always good friends and pals until they became about one year old. Then they changed their opinion of me when I appeared with what they thought was a queer looking thing made of leather straps and tried to put it on their head. It made no sense to them. They rebelled with all their might and main, shaking their heads hard enough to almost break them off, throwing themselves flat down on the ground, and kicking their four legs in every direction. It was not very safe to get in the way of those flapping bodies and kicking feet, but I would hang onto the strap and dodge about until they decided to get up and try some other tactics to get rid of that funny contraption on their heads. It took a lot of time and patience to win them over to the idea of having their freedom curtailed; but once they made up their minds to submit, they resisted no more and would follow meekly wherever I led. This was their first lesson in becoming a faithful servant to man. There were lessons in it for me too.

Horses have about as many quirks in them as humans. One summer day I ran across the road to pick the iris which grew at the edge of the brook. Three or four horses which were grazing in the pasture there lifted up their heads, and, seeing me, came along one by one and hung their heads over the fence to have a friendly meeting with me. Horses have personality and these were not like old

tricky Fanny. These nuzzled my hand as I patted their noses. It was getting late afternoon and pretty hot and I began to yawn. All at once I noticed a horse yawning. You know when one person yawns it makes another person want to yawn. Well, I discovered that it affected horses the same way. I pretended to yawn and then first one then another would really yawn. It was a funny sight, for a horse with its mouth stretched wide open is not exactly a thing of beauty. I tried out this idea on them until I was tired and went back to the house.

Every farm has its pigs. How else would we get our salt pork, our lard, sausage, and hams? Little pigs are so cute. They romp and play and squeal at each other quite like little puppies and mamma pig grunts her scoldings at them when they get into mischief. I'll never forget one old lady sow we had. She weighed twelve hundred pounds. Evidently a hog who did not watch her diet. She took no exercise except to eat food and more food and lie half submerged in mud at the edge of the brook. Poor old thing, I never found out if she enjoyed her inanimate existence or not. My Uncle Mark Row on the farm adjoining ours had a grape arbor and grew wine grapes. In the fall the grapes were picked, and some were made into wine. The casks were stored in the barn. Pigs lived in the barnyard. One day something happened to one of those wine casks and the wine began leaking out and running down into the barnyard. A little pool formed. Of course the pigs spied it and immediately began to guzzle it down. It wasn't long before there was a merry pig party. They staggered about bumping into each other, sitting down on their hind legs to contemplate the world, lying down to take a snooze and, in short, acting like any drunken crowd. Probably the "hang over" was enjoyed as much as that that humans experience in similar circumstances.

The best beloved of all the animals on our farm and of dearest memory today is our dog Pedro, a Shepherd. Where he came from I do not remember. Someone probably donated him to us, but he was with us many years, and he and I were constant pals. I taught him many things and I guess I learned from him too. He and I had lots of fun playing "Anti-over." Did you ever play that game? It goes like this. One stands on one side of a barrier and the other stands on the opposite side of the barrier. Then a ball is thrown

over to the other person who throws it back. I would stand on one side of our one-story kitchen and throw a ball over the roof. Pedro, who couldn't throw the ball back, would come hustling around the corner with the ball in his mouth, lay it at my feet, and hurry back again to his side, so as to be ready to get the ball the next time it came over the roof. He would play as long as I would send the ball over to him, getting more and more excited as the game went on.

Another thing I taught him was to understand what certain sentences meant when spoken to him. Of course he didn't know what the words were, but he learned what the sounds of certain words meant. He loved to go after the cows when it was time to drive them home from the pasture at milking time. He considered it a very important job, beside being lots of fun, for he could bark every minute at them, nipping at the hind knees of this one and that one and rounding up a stray one, and keeping all moving along toward home. How did he know when it was time to go for the cows? When I would say "It's time to go for the cows now" he even would jump out of a sound sleep, run to the door and bark, bounce out the instant it was opened, and run off up the road ahead of me so as to be at the gate as soon as I opened it.

When nephew Fred was young, he used to come often to see us, and Pedro dearly loved him. I had taught Pedro that when I said "Fred is coming" it meant just that; so when Fred was just about ready to appear down the road I would say "Fred is coming" and that dog would run and sit in a certain place in the yard where he could look down the road where Fred would come, and when he saw him, off he would go like a shot out of a gun to meet him. It took long training for Pedro to learn what all those words meant, but learn them he surely did. Of course, I never fooled him, only saying them when they were true so in that way he associated the sound of the words with the event which followed.

Another stunt I taught him was to go upstairs and bring down a pair of slippers each evening for our hired man, Tommy Heim. Pedro didn't like that job so well; there was too much hard work in it and not enough thrill. Very reluctantly he would mount a few steps, hoping that he could sneak back and take another nap. Finally he would decide to go on and get it over with. He would come

down with one slipper in his mouth, trusting that that would suffice, but it didn't work—I always made him go for the other one.

Now this story of Pedro must come to an abrupt ending, for one morning my dog Pedro was missing. He had disappeared completely—where or why we never knew. This was about seventy-five years ago. May'be I'll find him waiting for me some day out "Yonder."

Once I found two little wild canary baby birds. I found these two little helpless creatures on the ground where they had fallen out of their nest. I took them home and fixed up a nest for them inside the cage of our tame "Dickey" bird. Our Dickey helped me feed and care for them. After a while one little fellow died, but the other one survived and learned to care for himself. Wild canary birds do not know how to sing as well as the tame ones, but this one did its best to repay Dickey and me for saving its life. It was a smart little thing and learned to perch on the little finger of my left hand and hop up on each of the three other fingers when I told it to "climb the stairs." It took it a long time to learn but it finally became quite a performer.

Tommy was our hired man. He was with us a long time and was faithful and dependable in all the work of the farm. I learned to speak some German from him, but most is forgotten now as that was long ago. But I will always remember something he made for my Pedro. It was a dog house. He went to work in one end of the cow stable, gathering up the materials he would need, and planning for a neat, strong house for Pedro to have as a private home; a shelter, and a place of retreat when life was boring or unpleasant. It took many stray hours of off farm work for Tommy to get that house built, but finally it was finished and I was called to come and see it moved out to its designated place near the kitchen. It surely was a fine, sturdy piece of work. Tommy took hold of it and moved it over to the open stable door, and that was as far as he got with that dog house, for it was too big to go through the door. And there was no other way to get it out. So Tommy had to tear it apart and build it over and make it smaller.

I think I should include fish among the animals we had on the farm, for the Michigan state hatchery planted five hundred speckled

trout in the brook that ran through our yard. When we wanted fish for dinner we just went out and caught them. My mother was very averse to cleaning fish. She never had cleaned any and she never intended to clean any. My father thought, however, that if he should show her that it was not such a bad job, she would change her mind and be willing to relieve him of the task. So one time he said to her "You just stand here by me and watch and see how easy it is—just no work at all and nothing to get upset about." So she dutifully stood by his side, but she closed her eyes tight and did not open them during the entire process of instruction, and she never did clean fish.

Whenever I think of that brook it takes me back in memory to my upstairs bedroom at the front of the house with the windows open, and, in the hush of the night, the sweet sounds of the murmuring and gurgling brook as it went on its predestined way to join the River Raisin eventually to mingle its waters with the great ocean. Its source, the spring, was only a short distance from our house, so its journey was just beginning. It was like a merry, care-free child starting out in life, blithe and gay, knowing nothing of what lay ahead in the long trek before it merged its life in the ocean. In the twilight of a summer evening its soothing voice spoke of peace and contentment and happiness as I wooed sweet slumber.

The first school I attended was a private one held in the basement of the Presbyterian church. The only thing I remember about that school is an embarrassing situation in which I was involved. One morning a new pupil appeared, a little boy who was very frightened and who began to cry. The teacher discovered that I was the only one he knew, so she told me to move over and let him sit with me. In those days boys and girls did not sit together, or even sit on the same side of the room. All the rest of the children snickered and laughed at us. I, as well as he, suffered agonies. I slid away from him as far as I could, which didn't help matters much.

Most of the time later I lived with my married sister in Brooklyn and went to school there. The two-story schoolhouse was way down past the millpond and on to the very end of the street where a beautiful old tree stood, indicating that "thus far and no farther" did that street go. A few years ago that tree became one hundred years old, and do you know what the people of Brooklyn did? They

cut down that stately old landmark and extended the street over that hallowed ground. Why couldn't they have split the street and gone each side of the tree? Many streets have trees planted in their centers and drives on both sides. Man fells a tree at his will, but "Only God can make a tree."

When school was called to order we always had morning exercises. They consisted of the reading of a chapter of the Bible by the teacher, and the repeating of the Lord's prayer and singing by the pupils. Then we got down to work. At recess we girls ran out into the yard where each one who wished made a playhouse by outlining as many rooms as she liked.

One winter morning on my way to school I was able to walk directly off the porch onto snow level with the porch, which was about three feet high. The snow had melted somewhat the previous day, and then had frozen over during the night. I continued all the way to the school on that frozen snow. When it snowed, I didn't like to have boys throw snowballs at me.

Small towns have individualities. As I remember the little town of Brooklyn around 1880 when I was a youngster, it was composed mostly of well educated, refined, and cultivated people. One time a group of musically inclined folks decided to give a cantata of Esther. They met in a lodge hall next door to where we lived. How I got into the chorus of that performance I now have no idea, but there I was singing loudly and lustily each practice evening. My brother-in-law, Dr. Palmer, was in the cast too, and when we were all coming home the first evening of practice he and my sister were talking and laughing together, evidently very much amused. I asked them what was so funny. They looked at each other as much as to say, "Shall we tell her?" then kept right on laughing. "Tell me, tell me," I said, so my brother-in-law replied, "Well dearie, we had to laugh at you because you kept singing over and over "Long legged Hamen, Long legged Hamen" and it's "Long lived Hamen." I was devastated over the terrible mistake I had made. I was a bashful child with no sense of humor. Now I can laugh at myself and with anyone who laughs at me.

I had another embarrassing moment one time when I stayed all night with a girl friend. At breakfast next morning when we were all seated at the breakfast table, I saw at each place a little china dish,

the shape of an egg atop of a slender stem and flat base, with a boiled egg in its shell. Now what was one supposed to do, I wondered. I decided that I couldn't eat it with the shell on, but how was I going to get the shell off while it reposed in that egg cup? Should I take it out and put it on my plate and shell it, and after I had done that, what should I do with it, put it back in the cup or leave it on my plate? It was all to much of a problem for me to work out before all the others around the table, so I just left it setting in its cup, explaining to my hostess that I didn't like eggs. I didn't—not in an egg cup.

The subject of sanitation was not so well developed in those days. The "bugs" had a much more free hand in spreading disease than they do now. There were no public play grounds, not even a park in our little town of Brooklyn. We youngsters had to play in the streets. We used to gather to play group games like hide-and-seek where one was chosen to be the finder while the others scurried away hunting hiding places such as behind a stove, in an empty barrel, up an outside stairway or under it, anywhere to get out of sight of the finder. Naturally, with so much running about, we became thirsty. We knew just where we could quench that thirst. This was at the grocery store. There was always a tin pail of drinking water and a big tin dipper setting in a certain corner available to all comers. We developed a contest to see which one could drink the most dippersful. We were not the only ones who indulged in this privilege. All customers and anyone dropping in had the same opportunity to indulge their thirst, so the dipper never lacked patronage, and germs multiplied. As I have intimated, no one bothered about germs in those days.

Another source of pleasure some of us had, which always had an "if" in it, and that "if" was always in the lap of the gods. We could never tell beforehand how it was going to turn out but whenever we had the chance we always took the risk. The driver of the hack drawn by a team of horses, whose business it was to meet the incoming train at four o'clock in the afternoon down at the depot about a quarter of a mile from town, would allow two or three of us to ride with him to the depot; but if there were passengers to be carried to town, then we were bound by the rule to walk back to town. It was quite a task to walk home in the dusty road and hot

sun of a summer afternoon, but we were good sports generally and were always ready to take a chance next time.

Our small town was well supplied with opportunities for religious activities. We had three churches: an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and a Baptist. One very impressive ceremony celebrated each year in the summer by the Baptist church was the rite of baptism by immersion in the millpond back of the flourmill which ground the farmers' wheat. A warm, sunny day was chosen for the baptism. At the appointed time the townspeople gathered by the pond to witness the immersion ceremony. When all was ready, the minister, clad in a black robe, emerged from the mill and led the person to be baptised to the edge of the water. They walked into the water until it came up to their waists. It seems that I remember only women being baptised. I have a picture in my mind of a long white garment like a night dress floating on top of the water around a woman until it became soaked, then slowly disappearing under the water. When they reached the required depth of water, the minister took one of her hands in his and, placing his other hand around her back at the waist to support her, gently lowered her backward until she was entirely submerged, doing this three times and reciting the prescribed ritual. Then they came out of the water, dressed, and the crowd dispersed. This was a very impressive ceremony. I was always very glad when I saw that third dipping was over and I could breathe again. I was so afraid the person would drown.

Would you believe that we could get a big clothes basket of family washing and ironing done for fifty cents? We used to in those long ago days. Our washerwoman did ours for that sum. She was a good old Irish woman who lived down by the mill. My brother-in-law was her doctor and when she heard that he had died, she bemoaned the fact that she had just paid her last doctor bill, for she said, "If I hadn't paid that bill, for sure I'd never had to." Probably she was right for my brother-in-law was so generous and goodhearted that he was a poor collector of his bills. He served the community faithfully and unselfishly.

Another interesting character personality was a merchant whose store was on the business square of Brooklyn. His stately house was at the end of the street, upon both sides of which resided most

of the elite families of the town. He was of stocky build and of a very prim, terse, precise, and stern nature, never seeming to relax from his austere attitude. His wife was meek and mild and unassuming, devoting her life to pleasing her husband. How this little episode leaked out, don't ask me, for I have no idea, but it's been tucked down in my memory for seventy-five years or more. The merchant arrived home from his work at the store one day and greeted his wife at the door with "Are we never going to have any more beans in this house?" Probably she had already anticipated his desire and had a dinner of beans awaiting him, though I cannot vouch for such an ending to this little episode.

Can you remember when medicine came exclusively in the form of powder instead of tablets? This is the way it was when I was young. My brother-in-law, the doctor, used to go to the office of the little town paper and buy two or three hundred sheets of printing paper at a time. I would help cut them into three inch squares in which he would apportion the proper amount of different powdered medicines from the labeled rows of little bottles in his medicine case; then fill the squares of paper and fold them twice, turning the ends in opposite directions. There was no weighing of the powder just a tap on the open bottle and a practiced eye and steady fingers.

My little nephew, Fred, and I used to take turns playing the roll of doctor. We would cut out squares of paper, fill them with a mixture of flour and sugar, and administer the contents to our respective patient until my sister decided we had consumed enough "medicine" to make us sick instead of well, when she would call a halt. I can almost taste the stuff yet.

The place where we lived at this time had a nice large front yard. There was a great big apple tree growing between the front of the house and the street fence. This tree was my sanctuary, my place of retreat from childhood troubles and cares. There I could climb to a comfortable crotch and read my books to my heart's content, at least until my sister spied me and made me come down and stop reading, for she feared too much reading was bad for me. Many a time my book would mysteriously disappear after such indulgence and I would have to beg my sister to let me have it again.

Before we came to live in this house it was owned and occupied by Dr. Leonidas M. Jones, a homeopath; my brother was an allopath. They were of two exactly opposite schools of medicine. Each practised in his own way. While Dr. Jones lived here, Mrs. Jones died and Dr. Jones insisted on burying her in the yard at one of the front corners of the house. There her grave was while we lived there. There was no tombstone—just a mound above the level of the ground. From my perch in the apple tree it was in plain sight, but it just seemed a part of the place and we never had any concern about it. Farther down the yard we had a croquet set where a group of young folks older than I used to meet and play, while I sat up in my apple tree and read *Elsie Dinsmore* books.

On one of my birthdays I was upstairs in my room in the evening and I heard my sister call to me to come down. When I ran down the stairs and opened the door into the sitting room, I saw the room filled with youngsters, my little friends and playmates. I was so surprised and astonished that I fell down flat on the floor in a faint, but I soon recovered and had a wonderful time playing games such as "Ring around the Rosy," "Musical Chairs," and "Drop the Handkerchief," and of course kissing games which were the most exciting, especially when your particular little boy friend kissed you. Surprise parties seem to be of the past now. Too bad.

A few days before one Christmas day when I was a little girl, I did a naughty thing. I noticed that the second drawer in my commode was locked. Maybe you do not know what a commode was. It was a piece of bedroom furniture. On top there was a wash bowl and pitcher, below were drawers on one side and on the other side a cupboard in which to keep various things. This locked drawer puzzled me for I never kept it locked. I just had to see what was in that locked drawer. I studied it for a while. Then I hit upon a wonderful idea. I was sure it would work. It was to remove the upper drawer entirely, then I could reach down through the opening and learn what was in the locked drawer. I did that and sure enough it worked. I took hold of something round, hard, and cold and pulled it out. A great big beautiful doll with a china head and hands, and all dressed so pretty. It was to be my Christmas present from my sister. She thought it was safely

hidden and there I had snooped around and found it. I felt very guilty and hurried and put it back as fast as I could. I don't think that my sister ever knew I did this and I feel deep remorse over it even to this day. I kept that pretty doll nearly forty years. I took it to Mexico when my husband and I went there, and had to leave it there along with other belongings when a revolution in 1911 overtook us there. I still love my china doll and mourn its fate.

I remember a number of lakes near Brooklyn. The nearest was Wamplers Lake. My brother-in-law used to go fishing there in the summer when he could spare a little time from his duties. Once in a while he would take me along. I can't think why he did for when you go fishing for pickerel you have to be very quiet—no talking—you just sit still in the boat and go about trolling the line and make no noise as you dip the oars into and out of the water very slowly, and then you wait and wait for a fish to bite. Maybe as it was such a lonesome pleasure it was just nice to look at a little girl in the other end of the boat.

We used to go to Sunday-school picnics there to. That was a more active festivity; picnic dinner, games, wading in the lake, and running around here and there in the woods. I don't remember that there were any houses but there was a great big wooden barn. At one of these picnics the story got about that a family was living in that barn and that a little new baby had been born there just two or three days before. Well, that was exciting news and another little girl and I decided we would investigate that rumor, so we climbed the stairs to the loft and sure enough in that great big bare space was a bed and in it a woman, and when she called to us to come on up to the bed there was the tiny new baby cuddled up close to its mother. I never knew any more about it, who it was or what became of it.

I liked to go on other kinds of picnics too, beside Sunday-school picnics, with my girl friend, Nellie Ambler. Nellie and I would fix up a lunch on a nice summer day and walk out to the edge of town to the cemetery where we would wander about among the graves, reading the tombstones, and admiring the flowers and plants. When noon came, we would sit in the shade of a tree or on some old log, eat our lunch, and watch the birds flitting about

and the squirrels skipping here and there. When we were tired and interest paled, we would go home having had a nice day.

Nellie's grandmother did something for me once that I still have with me. She pierced my ears for earrings. I sat down on a stool at her knee. She put a ball of woolen yarn back of the lobe of my ear, then stabbed a threaded darning needle through and tied the thread in a loop so that I could turn it often to prevent the incision from growing together. I had to get up my nerve every time I did that turning process, because sometimes that thread would almost be grown fast. On the second ear, knowing what was coming, I jumped a little when the needle struck my ear and it didn't strike in exactly the right place, so the hole was a little out of plumb, but I had no desire for another try.

Another excursion that I took with my brother-in-law when I was quite young was to the State Prison of Southern Michigan in Jackson about twenty miles from Brooklyn. We drove the horse and buggy, of course. He had been called by the authorities of the prison for consultation on some medical business and it was a pleasant trip. When we reached our destination he left me in the life cell block of the prison while he went to consult the prison officials. This cell block was a very large room with two tiers of cells, one above the other, all around the four sides of the room. The place was entirely empty, the inmates probably being outside engaged in some occupation. The cells were all alike, very small, just large enough for a cot bed and a little stand at the head of the bed—nothing else. I went in and out of many of them on the floor. All were alike—a cot and a stand—a cot and a stand. So next I climbed the stairs to the balcony which ran around the upper tier to see if I could find anything different up there. They appeared to be like all the rest too until I came upon one which had a distinguishing mark. Upon the wall over the head of the cot hung a small framed card upon which was printed a verse. It read "Count that day lost whose low descending sun sees no worthy action, no good deed done." I stood and read it over and over until I had it learned by heart, and I've never forgotten it, through all these years of my life. I pictured that man as having committed some terrible crime or he would not have been sentenced to a life-long term of imprisonment, and somehow and some way had really repented, but

was doomed to suffering and remorse for his evil deed all the rest of his life. Evidently this card was a personal possession for I saw nothing like it in any other cell.

Eventually, like all other youngsters, given time, I grew up. When I was eighteen my mother became ill and I went home to care for her. Two or three years later I made a visit to a cousin's home in another town. There I met the Congregational minister of that place and I am sure that it was love at first sight. We became engaged soon after but were not married for five long years, because I could not leave my sick mother at that time. After we were married we took my father and mother to live with us, giving them the loving care they needed until they passed on.

There are no words to describe the beautiful and blessed love my dear husband, James, gave me through the fifty years of close companionship we shared together. Now, for twelve long years he has been gone from me and I await God's call to come and find him in the Great Beyond. A part of him is left to me in our three loving and loyal children, Ellen, Victor, and Lou, who are all so devoted to me.

General Motors' Old Home Town

Arthur Pound

THIS CITY OF FLINT IS A PLACE where nearly everyone came from somewhere else, and many a man rates himself a simon-pure old timer because he reached here around 1925. So I'll add a bit of boasting to that kind introduction of your toastmaster.¹ Benjamin Franklin bragged that his future wife fell in love with him when she saw him toting a loaf of bread under his arm on his arrival to Philadelphia. I arrived in Flint as a shepherd but somehow I failed to attract the attention of my wife when I first strolled along east Third Street with the marks of my employment still on me. I had helped to bring Dr. B. F. Miller's prize Oxford Downs home from the Pontiac State Fair in a railway car via the Grand Trunk through Durand. I had fed, watered, and slept with our dumb friends all through the night and I was being escorted to his home for a washup by another youth in like condition, when we passed along east Third Street and I saw my future wife on the porch all dressed up for church. In those days everyone went to church—there wasn't much else to do. Milady was about ready to step into the family phaeton behind a fancy team of hackney horses. I took one look, shielded my eyes from the Patersonian radiance, and sneaked swiftly by unnoticed.

That was in the late summer of 1902. There may have been one or two automobiles in town. Old Doc Bardwell had one reposing in his barn, A.B.C. Hardy's sample Flint car of 1901; and Will Paterson's electric. Will thinks it was the first nonhorse vehicle to be operated here regularly, rain or shine, but of course, it was run by electricity, not gasoline, and, as far as Flint is concerned, electrics don't count. At any rate I saw no automobile here on that visit. But horses! Flint, with a population of twelve thousand plus, was knee-deep in horses. Horses of all breeds and gaits; horses hitched to buggies, carriages, delivery wagons, farm wagons, hotel hacks, and hitching posts. It had the fastest fire horses in Mich-

¹Revision of speech given before the annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan at Flint, October 7, 1955.

igan. You couldn't cross a street anywhere without being aware that a horse had been there just before you. A blind man would become aware that he was on a public thoroughfare, if not by the chirping of the English sparrows come to dinner, then by the prevailing ammoniacal fragrance of the landscape. All over America street transportation was then something for the birds, especially in a country town.

Of course Flint wasn't exactly a country town then; it was, pridefully, a county seat where two railroads crossed, but that could be said for Lapeer and Charlotte and Adrian. Flint was a little bigger, but not much, than my native city of Pontiac and the university city of Ann Arbor; and smaller, considerably smaller than Jackson, Saginaw, and Bay City. Compared with Grand Rapids, the thriving furniture center and metropolis of western Michigan, Flint was definitely small town. Yet with every census Flint has gained, until now with its environs contains more settled inhabitants than the state of Nevada, after deducting their out-of-state gamblers and divorce-seekers. All this, mind you, in a hundred years from scratch, and most of it within my adult lifetime. And let me warn you, here and now, that in this talk I will come no nearer the present than that grim Year of the Locust, 1929.

No rule-book economist can find a good reason for present-day Flint. Usually, cities grow large by reason of some natural advantage—a harbor or navigable waterway, or a junction of trade routes, or the presence of mineral deposits. Flint had little help of that kind. Its growth has been largely due to hard work and nifty leadership. True, there was a river big enough to float logs and on the river was a grand traverse, or crossing, so named by French trappers from old Detroit, where the Indian trail from Detroit to Saginaw Bay crossed the Flint River at a shallow place called the rapids, which old man Smith spotted as a trading point when he decided to settle down there and took an Indian wife under his blanket. For many years now I have studied the American aborigines, or Injins, and I will tell you in confidence that they were first class at finding easy ways of going from here to there by foot in the shortest time. President Knudsen of General Motors used to say that Americans were a people who wanted to get from point A to point B sitting; but Indians had to get there on the hoof. As

a result, you will find that America's most thriving inland towns and cities are located on old Indian trails. The best towns in the southwest are on the old Santa Fe trail, in the southeast they are on the Cherokee trail, in New York and New England they are on the Mohawk and the Genesee trails, and in Michigan they are on the Saginaw trail. Along these trails came and went in succession the aborigine, the fur trapper, the trader, the soldier, the settler with plow and prairie schooner, the missionary, the judge, the surveyor, the merchant, the banker, the manufacturer, the wagon builder, the designer, the engineer, and in due course the automobile speedster, the hitch-hiker and the traffic cop. Buy a business lot anywhere on one of the original Indian trails and your heirs will call you blessed.

When men reached a river-crossing in a forest wilderness, they whacked down trees, burned the brush, built a log house, made a clearing, planted corn and rigged a sawmill. Others coming along were sure to want boards. When Flint was born, Detroit was already old and Detroit wanted boards. Growing Chicago wanted boards. A nice thing about boards is that they don't last forever; they burn, rot, fall down and go to dust. Always a good resale market and no trade-in. Especially good were the early markets for pine lumber, because any handy man could whittle a house out of pine. Up Flint river a ways there grew the handsomest pine forest a man ever laid eyes on. Through northern Lapeer County and on toward Saginaw Bay and up into the Thumb was pine, pine, pine—some hardwood, but mostly full-grown pine as big as it would ever be. If you snaked those logs into the Flint River, they just naturally floated down to the site of Flint. It didn't make sense to let them go farther because of the the turn the river makes to the northward, away from the market. So Flint was what folks called a natural-born boom town, a point to which logs branded by their owners were floated, were stopped there by a cross-river boom, and were sorted out according to brand and piked over to the sawmill area of each owner by his special pirate gang. There the logs were made into lumber, seasoned, and shipped out first by wagon; and after the railroad came, by train.

Flint's early settlers came mostly from western New York of transplanted New England Yankee stock. This migration is well

illustrated in the case of Russell Bishop who left Le Roy, Genesee County, New York, with his parents as a lad of sixteen, settled with them at Springfield in Oakland County, toured the West and came back to reside in Flint from 1837 on, buying farm land in the area at 12½ cents an acre. His son, Arthur, worked his way up to president in the Genesee County Savings Bank and at his death was the oldest General Motors director in point of both service and years.

Here in Flint we used to argue how Flint got its name—maybe from an arrowhead; but when as state historian at New York I took to studying New York place names, it seemed reasonable that folks from the Genesee country and the Flint creek region named this county and city for their old home sites, a common practice with homesick settlers all over the frontier. And I suppose little old Flint, New York, was named by a homesick Welshman after his home town on the coast of Wales, an ancient abiding place of the original Britons.

The oncomers then were Yankees and Yorkers only a few generations removed from the stony soils of New England. They were not the best farmers in the country; but they were the best mechanics, the best organizers, the best savers, church goers, and all round citizens of the kind a frontier region needed. They had a passion for schools, books, reading; education of all sorts. In the thrifty Yankee tradition each brought some capital and some were proud to be described as capitalists—for that was then held to be an honorable profession. The shrewdest among them barged right into lumbering. Half a dozen firms fought it out in the deep woods and on the log-filled Flint River. Among the names of these old firms are many you will recognize, if not in the person of their descendants then perpetuated in street names or other worthy memorials: Atwood, Begole, Crapo, Eddy, Fox, Hamilton, McFarlan, Flint P. Smith. In banking were Bishops and Spencers; in merchandising the Smiths, Bridgmans, Cotharins, and Farnams. Noted for their libraries, pictures, and civic and cultural leadership were the Hyatts, Paynes, Bates, Fentons, McCreerys, and Thompsons. Books from their collections helped the young University of Michigan to establish one of the world's greatest libraries in Ann Arbor and those gifts are still highly prized there. The Art club and

Shakespeare clubs which they organized still give delight to their members and tone to social life.

Any lumber town drew strong, hardy men, and their bosses had to be plenty tough, too. The last survivor of the rough, old days on the river was William MacGregor, a tall Scotsman, who in his prime had been bully boy and boom-boss for McFarlan and Hamilton. I judge there were frequent arguments between the Scotties of that firm and the Yorkers. At any rate old William told me this yarn which indicates that at eighty odd he was still a-feudin'.

Those folks from New York, they were the high and mightys, always thinking they could call the tune. But some of us knew how their daddies hapened to leave the East so quick on the dead run. There was a new prison built on the New York frontier, Auburn prison. Whenever the warden saw a spry young convict join up, he'd call the boy in and say: "There's a big new territory opened up they call Michigan. Needs smart settlers like you. So we'll leave the west door open tonight and you skeddadle out there." Then the warden would likely collect board and lodging for the rest of their terms. That's how some of those first families got to Flint. There weren't any trains then or telegraphs to catch them half way.

I never believed that yarn of Old Bill's; but I believed plenty of his other tales of brawn and brawling on the booms of Flint, the lumber town.

Lumbering was still going strong when the carriage trade started and wood was one good reason for building carriages here. Of course carriages and wagons had been made in Flint to order and one by one from the beginning of the settlement; but it was W. A. Paterson arriving in 1869 who established carriage building here on a factory basis. He was thirty-one years old when he hit town, a big, strong Canadian who had come up the hard way. Left an orphan, he was farmed out to an uncle, who in slicing off the top of a boiled egg at breakfast would give Willie the top slice and that was all. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to R. D. Scott of Scott & Watson, famous carriage builders of Guelph, Ontario. At nineteen, having built a buckboard as a "masterpiece" for the master's eye, and a set of tools for himself, he set forth on his journeys, which took him from one carriage shop to another on a wide swing through New England into the South and back to Canada through the Middle West. In New England he worked

for the noted craftsmen who built at Concord, New Hampshire, the famous Concord wagons and the Wells, Fargo stagecoaches, vehicles which carried men and treasure across the Western Plains. In New England, too, the youth managed to work in a year's schooling. He tried to develop a carriage factory with his brothers at Kincardine, Ontario. When that came to nothing, he sought out his old master, R. D. Scott, who meantime had established himself at Pontiac as the founder of that city's first vehicle factory. Scott told him to move along to Flint, a lively up-state town.

Mr. Paterson started humbly here. He carried forge iron from the railroad station to the shop on his shoulder. In tough times he drove strings of buggies West, once as far as Minnesota, and kept going till he sold them. Escaped early ruin by a bank failure, and I tell you this to emphasize how frail the banking structure was in a region where it is now so strong. One of the town bankers was also named William Paterson, and in his bank young William, no relation, kept his account. To avoid confusion the old banker told him to add a distinguishing initial to his name, so the young man added A., became W. A., and so was known through his lifetime. That A meant nothing in particular, and needed no initial after it; but W. A. put one in just for looks. One afternoon old William Paterson called young William Paterson into his office after banking hours and gruffly told young William to close out his account then and there. Young William was shocked, wondered what he had done that was amiss; couldn't sleep that night for shame and puzzlement. Next morning the bank did not open, never did open again, and old William Paterson completely disappeared into the then mysterious and unsettled West. W. A. had been saved by sentiment based on the accident of name similarity.

After a while W. A. threw his sledge through his shop window into Brush alley and said to his helpers: "From now on I'm going to be a businessman." But he went back to his forge a little later when St. Paul's church was a-building and with his own hands wrought the beautiful cross which still points to heaven above the spire of that noble edifice. He built well and sturdily several buildings which still adorn our main street: Paterson Block, Inglis Block, Dryden Block, Dresden Hotel, and, opposite the courthouse, the first commercial garage for Jimmy Parkhill, a former employee.

To grasp what the early Paterson factories meant to Flint you have to consider some of the differences between the way work was done in a small shop and the progressive steps in factory production. In a small carriage shop rigs were built one at a time and there was little or no evidence of the chief methods which distinguish and to this day sustain our ever advancing factory system. These are division of labor, substitution of mechanical power for muscle power, transfer of skill from the human hand to the machine, economical handling of materials and rapid assembly of interchangeable parts. These factors had been developing gradually in the more industrialized parts of the country ever since the day of Eli Whitney, around 1800, but they had not yet penetrated this part of the still young state of Michigan. By degrees all of the above progressive factors were tried and adopted here, though in ways we might now consider cumbersome. Gradually they became standard practice not only in the Paterson factories, but in those of the Flint Wagon Works, organized by J. H. Whiting in 1882; and in those of the Durant-Dort Carriage Company, youngest but most aggressive of the three companies which put Flint on the map as the vehicle center of the United States. One can see in many of their manufacturing processes a foreshadowing of the ever increasing technical efficiency of our great automobile factories of today. For instance, while carriages were never put together on an assembly line, their components were assembled on trucks and wheeled-racks which were pushed from one worker's station to another, and from one processing room to another.

Now we have to take note and pay honor to something greater than wood, iron, leather, and wheels; something stronger than dollars; namely the spirit of the enterprise. These firms were hard competitors in styling, advertising, pricing, and selling; but when it came to the welfare of Flint as a community their leaders pulled together as a team. Carriage factories were especially vulnerable to fire. Burned out often, they were rebuilt right away; and any manufacturer so hit could count on his competitors for any help they could give him. All of them would plug hard for any development helpful to Flint. What's more, all the major companies were fair and considerate employers, by the standards of that day. Flint was never a low-wage town, compared with other manu-

facturing centers. Employers made a point of keeping in close, personal relations with their men; boosted mutual insurance funds; supported athletic teams and workers' bands; gave away turkeys at Christmas; and tapped the till promptly in case of emergency need. Paternalistic? Sure. Out-of-date? Sure. But credit them with a true fatherly interest, which sweetens to this day the memory of old-time employees who have outlived their bosses and who bring to me always welcome recollections of the good, old days of their youth.

Some of you elders in this audience know better than I how Billy Durant, William Crapo Durant, grandson of Governor Crapo, saw at Coldwater Fair a road cart which intrigued him by its good springing and simple styling. Then a young insurance agent, Billy thought these rigs would sell. So he bought the patent and engaged W. A. Paterson to build ten thousand such carts. That was a perfectly tremendous order; nowhere in the wide world had ten thousand of any vehicle model been manufactured. After some dickering they shook hands at \$18 per, and both made money, for the road carts sold and kept selling at around \$35. Ambitious young Durant soon organized, with J. D. Dort, the Flint Road Cart Company to manufacture the carts as well as sell them and within a year or two their company became the Durant-Dort Carriage Company, builders of the famous Blue Ribbon Line, the most extensive line of carriages in the country, selling up to one hundred fifty thousand jobs a year. Young people today just can't believe carriages were ever made in that quantity; there are so few of them left.

Right about then, when Flint was edging into leadership in horse-drawn vehicles, things were happening elsewhere which spelled the doom of the horse-and-buggy and the rise of the horseless carriage or, as it was later called, the automobile. Benz in Germany and Daimler in France patented and built gasoline-powered cars. The Benz patents, illustrated in *Scientific American*, aroused the Duryea brothers, and in September, 1893, my dear old friend, J. Frank Duryea drove on the streets of Springfield, Massachusetts, America's first gasoline car, the famous "horseless carriage" now in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C. Two years later, driving a second and improved Duryea car, he won America's first automobile

race from Chicago to Evanston and return. I have never heard that anyone from Flint bothered to go to Chicago to see that race, which shows the current concentration here on horse-drawn vehicles. In 1895 apparently not even Messrs. Durant and Dort quite sensed the shape of things to come.

W. C. Durant and J. D. Dort were both notable and original men; both were dreamers and the dreams of both came true. Billy Durant dreamed of a great industry here and it came to pass. Dallas Dort dreamed of a great community here, and that likewise has come to pass. It was he who took Flint on his shoulders in the difficult years of World War I and with grit and eloquence pushed its war contributions, population considered, to first place in the nation. He it was who swung important changes in transportation, who induced the Grand Trunk to move its main line south away from the business district and the Pere Marquette to tap the east side, and who foresaw the coming need for by-pass highways. That the busiest of those highways is now named for him is no more than justice. His enthusiasm for civic betterment brought forth the Nolen plan for continuous city improvement and if he had lived to push Nolen's street changes through to completion thirty years ago, millions upon millions of dollars would have been saved. Dallas Dort literally worked himself into the grave for Flint. Mr. Dort, however, made one great mistake. He overestimated Old Dobbin, said that there would always be horses and buggies, and so did not follow Mr. Durant promptly into automobiles; but waited ten years or so, which was just about that much too late for the Dort car to survive. But a good many from the able Durant-Dort organization went over to automobiles or their accessories in time to become important in the big game, among them: Clarence Hayes, Jack Mansfield, A.B.C. Hardy, and most significantly of all, Charles W. Nash, of whom more later.

When they founded Durant-Dort, Mr. Dort became president and Mr. Durant, treasurer. It was characteristic of Durant to organize a company, then step back and take what was ostensibly second place: yet actually the head of the table was wherever he sat. In his first whirl with General Motors, Billy always had some respectable old gentleman up front to sign the stock certificates while he himself scooted around raising capital, buying companies,

and closing deals. After making his first million in buggies, he slipped off to New York and bought a seat on the New York Stock Exchange. Thereafter speculation was part of his life, and no doubt influenced his dynamic rise as it definitely did later his fall from power. John Carton, Mr. Durant's personal attorney and the lawyer, who drew the incorporation papers for General Motors Company told me that Billy never thought that General Motors would become the big manufacturer that it did; what Mr. Durant desired, most of all were large stock issues in which he, from an inside position, could dicker and trade.

It can be laid down with complete assurance that if Billy Durant had not gone into horse-drawn vehicles he never would have shifted into automobiles in 1904, and that if Flint had never built carriages and wagons it would not be building automobiles today. And, to clinch the point, it was carriage money and credit that paved the way for Buick to come here from Jackson in 1905. On the walls of Carriage Trade Lane, where pictures of Flint's horse-and-buggy days can be seen in the arcade of the Inglis Block, is the copy of the document memorable in Flint's industrial history. It is dated November, 1904, and sets forth the terms and conditions under which James H. Whiting and the other stockholders of the Flint Wagon Works, owners of all capital stock of the Buick Motor Company, \$75,000, agreed to increase the Buick capitalization to \$500,000 with Arthur G. Bishop as trustee, a transaction which started Buick on the road from Jackson to Flint in 1905.

Observe, in this connection, the ability of that charming and convincing promoter, W. C. Durant, to win the help of older men. Just as he had won conservative W. A. Paterson over to his road cart program, so now he could work with James H. Whiting, an iron-jawed old soldier who, coming to Flint from Connecticut, organized Flint Wagon Works in 1882. Seldom has Mr. Whiting's part in changing Flint from buggies been adequately recognized. Within six months Messrs. Whiting and Durant had rounded up another \$100,000 in Flint, and Buick came along from Jackson like a little lamb soon after. Some of the original backers bought stock outright; others signed jointly a note famous in local history. The deal was a thousand-to-one shot; but it paid off at maybe ten thousand to one.

Buick landed on the Hamilton farm in north Flint; one month a cornfield, the next a factory. Already there were some factories out that way, supplying accessories to the carriage trade—Imperial Wheel, Armstrong Springs, Flint Varnish, Weiss axles. Buick took root just beyond them and the space between Buick and the unpaved Industrial avenue was soon filled by the Weston-Mott Company, fresh out of Utica, New York. The leader of that significant move was young Charles Stewart Mott, of an old and honored New York family with a long history of successful manufacture in several lines. I don't need to tell Flint folks how much he and the Mott Foundation have done over the years to broaden and dignify the social and intellectual life of this city in recent years through education and the support of all worthy causes, or speculate on what may come to pass through the college and cultural development endowed by Messrs. Mott, Ballenger, Curtice, and others, including the General Motors Corporation. But what many of you may have forgotten is the mighty work he did as mayor of Flint in shaping this city for clean, sanitary living. Himself a trained engineer, with a piercing eye toward far horizons, Mayor Mott overhauled and extended the sewage and water systems of Flint, and enabled Flint as far as those essentials are concerned, to take in large additional population with minimum risk. He had under him two able public servants, Dr. William deKleive as health officer and Ezra Shoecraft as city engineer. Along with C. S. Mott and his company, Flint acquired a host of young men of quality and force, of which Harry Bassett rose to prominence as boss of Buick.

These newcomers from the orderly east to the then disorderly north end of Flint were shocked at what they beheld in living conditions. Factories were being built and manned faster than houses could be constructed and normal family life set going. People were flocking into Flint from all quarters, especially lumberjacks from the north woods, where work was scarce. Men lived in tents and huts and plowed through quagmires; there were no pavements, no sidewalks. Organizing a competent factory force took time, and meanwhile the stress and strain in the shops was terrific. I recall that the superintendents and foremen wore stiff derby hats at work, the better to protect them from heavy bolts dropped from above by not too friendly workmen. Of course, a good many steady

old hands from the carriage factories went over to automobiles, found better jobs and kept on rising. Trouble came, not from them, but from those who had never worked in factories before and resented the necessary discipline to orderly planned production.

One of the grievances was high house rent. I recall that Mr. Durant gave landlords a going-over in the newspapers, and when opportunity came, some ten years later, he encouraged a massive Dupont housing development, Chevrolet Park, on the west side. Very early he announced a generous cooperative savings program, under which employees bought stock with company help, and those who entered the savings classes early and stuck to the program are now independently wealthy. Flint is the only town I ever heard of where an old benchhand, a toolmaker, would have \$25,000 to bestow and would give it the cultural and educational advancement of a city that, as he said, "had been good to him."

It has been a source of pride to me that I played some part, albeit a minor part, in the early stages of some of the developments which have since come to pass on a grand scale. That durable ancient of days, H. C. Spencer, when chairman of the park board at around ninety, used to take me buggy riding for several miles along the Flint river and pump me for ideas on how the then raw river front should be developed. I had the unforgettable privilege of working under J. D. Dort on the planning board and also in city hall under those two farsighted mayors, George C. Keller and C. S. Mott. Arthur Bishop, that wise and kindly banker, would tell me stories about the Flint River Indians that he had direct from his father, who came here in 1837. And once Mr. Bishop showed me on his office wall a spindle heavy with paper:

Those are Billy Durant's notes, the ones that I thought it best not to put through the bank, so I let him have the money myself and just carry these along until it is easy for him to meet them. Billy always gets what he wants here.

Maybe this is one reason Flint is what it is: Billy Durant, the dazzling young promoter, could always find money at the Genesee Bank. Then there was steady John Carton, the lawyer with the dead-pan countenance, who knew all and told nothing, except occasionally to me, for the sake of history and posterity. He wanted me to realize that Billy Durant put no value on money for its own

sake; that the founder of General Motors was an unconventional soul who soared high above ordinary humanity, that the one and only Billy, by that time fallen from the heights, was almost a prince among mortals, enjoying first of all power, then excitement, then the affectionate adulation of his friends. Said Mr. Carton,

After Billy left Durant-Dort for Buick and General Motors, there were always too many yesmen around him for his own good. Dallas Dort and Charlie Nash and Fred Aldrich and the rest of them in Durant-Dort could bring Billy down to earth. Away from them he just soared high, wide, and handsome.

In 1910, the young General Motors Company was discovered to be in trouble with too much inventory, too many debts, and a slack treasury. Too many companies had been absorbed here, there, and everywhere; the job of making them work together efficiently was beyond the grasp of a management hastily gathered together. Work stopped short, and distress shouldered prosperity out of sight, between one day and the next Flint registered a political low by electing a Socialist cigar maker, Jack Menton, as mayor. He really didn't do a bit of harm because wise old D. D. Aitken, Flint's foxy grandpa, took hold of Jack by his bank mortgage and gentled him into conservatism. But many out of work suffered greatly and some of us were close to panic. My spies tell me that a colored chauffeur took a million plus away from the Buick office in the dark of the moon and toted it across the border for deposit in Canadian banks, the chauffeur not knowing until then what was in the satchel. Could be; what's a million when the dam is breaking. My informant was sure the withdrawal was entirely innocent, and I am satisfied that it was, for reasons too involved to be detailed here. A million wouldn't seem much to Billy; he could be both reckless and generous with millions. Anyway, a million wouldn't have saved General Motors; what it needed right then was about nine or ten million which came through finally from Boston via the old Lee Higginson firm, after protracted negotiations with New York bankers had failed. Would have failed with the Bostonians, also, declares W. C. Leland of Detroit, except that he was on hand to prove to the bankers that Cadillac, most recent acquisition of General Motors was sound, solid, efficient, and given time could and would pay the whole debt off just by itself. Mr. Leland a year or so ago called

me from New York on the telephone and spent half an hour and considerable money telling me just what happened down there forty-five years before. Seems I hadn't written it just right in my *Turning Wheel* published twenty years before. That's one of the occupational hazards of authorship. If you value peace of mind do not write history, at least until it is cold and stiff. Anyway, the bankers came through with nine or ten million and took notes for twelve million or so, the difference being their cut. Another thing they took was a mortgage of some sort on the common stock, which had to be turned in and exchanged for something that looked about the same until you read the fine print.

And that brings me at long last to Charles W. Nash. When the bankers threw Mr. Durant out as head of General Motors, they elected a dependable Detroit paint manufacturer, Thomas Neal, as president and put Charles W. Nash, general manager of Durant-Dort in as head of Buick. Whoever effected this change must have had second sight, for Mr. Nash was then strictly a carriage man. Fresh from the farm, he had begun his notable career by mowing the Durant lawn, then went into the factory and worked up, strictly on merit, to superintendent and general manager. The remarkable job he did at Buick gives weight to my belief that carriage processing led straight to automobiles and that Flint would not be the great automobile center it is today if it had not first been a buggy town. Charlie Nash took Buick by the horns and taught it how to behave. He calmed its turmoils, reorganized its manufacturing, and earned so much money that after a while the bankers realized that they could dispense with the good Mr. Neal and elected Charlie Nash, president of the whole works. There he continued until Mr. Durant regained control of General Motors, whereupon Mr. Nash departed to form his own automobile company and amass great wealth thereby. The only fault Flint could ever find with Charlie Nash is that he left town and built his own company elsewhere.

Mr. Nash resigned from General Motors as the result of a spectacular battle for control of the company waged and won by Mr. Durant. When he left General Motors, Durant, nothing daunted, took over the Flint Wagon Works plant and refitted it for the manufacture of a small car designed in all or part by Arthur and

Louis Chevrolet, racing drivers born in France. They soon vanished from the scene; but the name snowballs along, getting bigger all the time. Flint Wagon Works also had started work on a car, the Whiting, and the efforts merged. Some desperately hard work was done in and around the old plant, particularly by A.B.C. Hardy, W. S. Ballenger, Arthur Mason and C. F. Barth. In a year or two Chevrolet was selling cars; and it wasn't long before Billy the Wizard again had a growing treasury, good credit, stock to sell and bankers to listen. Presently he was lining up General Motors stock, both by purchase and by arrangements with his friends among General Motors stockholders. Louis Kaufman, the Marquette banker who had gone to New York City and taken over the Chatham and Phenix bank, helped from the start, and may have been the go-between who brought in the DuPonts of Delaware, through their farsighted treasurer, John J. Raskob. The stock-buying battle skied the price of the stock, and kept the New York Exchange on edge for months. When the votes were in W. C. Durant had regained control of the company he founded and all Flint cheered, except a few grumblers who recalled what had happened in 1910.

Into the top spot, for the first time, stepped Mr. Durant. Never before had he taken the office of president along with the power; but his DuPont backers now insisted that it was time for him to settle down and operate the colossal industry which seemed to them likely to keep growing. The DuPonts as a family and an organization had more than a century of big business experience behind them. They recognized Durant's genius but feared his razzle-dazzle and when Billy in the swift and killing depression of 1920-21 again encountered inventory and stock market troubles, they bailed him out and took control, with Pierre S. DuPont in the saddle. A steady solid man, Mr. DuPont came to Flint and restored the confidence of the entire community in a single speech to the Chamber of Commerce. The wiser among us, a group which never included myself, knew then that Flint was in good hands, and could draw up to the table where the melons were soon going to be cut.

Another man who went from Buick to the big time was Walter P. Chrysler. Through some of the tumults I have described he kept right on sawing wood in the north end as head of Buick, developing there those remarkable and diverse talents which he later brought

to the establishment of his own great automobile company, now the third of the big three. It was a little late, even then, to build a huge, new organization in that field, but Walter Chrysler made it. Indeed, a most versatile man, he proved equally at home in promotion, production, finance, advertising, public relations, and selling. Take him all around as originator, driving force, and conservator, I would name him as one of the ten top best business men of his day and generation. When he left Flint many grieved at the city's loss of a stalwart personality, but few could foresee the heights he would reach thereafter.

By that time, of course, Flint was quite a steady town compared to its exciting early existence. As such it continues to be definitely in the money, drawing wealth from the whole world, maintaining the highest wages of any American city, with a rising standard of living not only in material and physical things but in things educational, artistic, and spiritual. It has seen tremendous storm and strife, and also dark despondency; and has emerged into a commendable unity and serene optimism. If, as that great leader of today Harlow Curtice believes, we are on the threshold of a new and greater society with higher rewards for all men and women of good intent, then the Flint of today must be viewed as a laboratory experiment in good living whose progress the whole world would do well to watch and acclaim. Still we in this room, who fancy that we know a little of the way the future flows forever out of the past, will from time to time bend a reverent ear to the whispers of yesterday. Amid the crash of machines we hear faintly the whir of great-grandmother's spinning wheel and the creak of great-grandfather's ox cart. Close behind the shining automobiles of today, we hear the clop-clop of Old Dobbin pulling the buggies and wagons of the Flint of yesterday, each rig an honest job built by honest men in the friendly comradeship of toil and in fraternal affection for this, their abiding place, this city of strength and hope, this Flint forever going forward! Such is part of the inspiring saga of General Motors' Old Home Town!

Michigan Bibliography: 1954

Compiled by Garnett McCoy

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY embraces books, pamphlets, articles, and miscellanea connected with Michigan history published in 1954. A few major works such as F. Clever Bald's *Michigan in Four Centuries* and Allan Nevin's *Ford: The Times, the Man, the Company* appear, but items of biographical and local nature predominate. Several novels of historical interest were published. The Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library was the source for most of the material included here.

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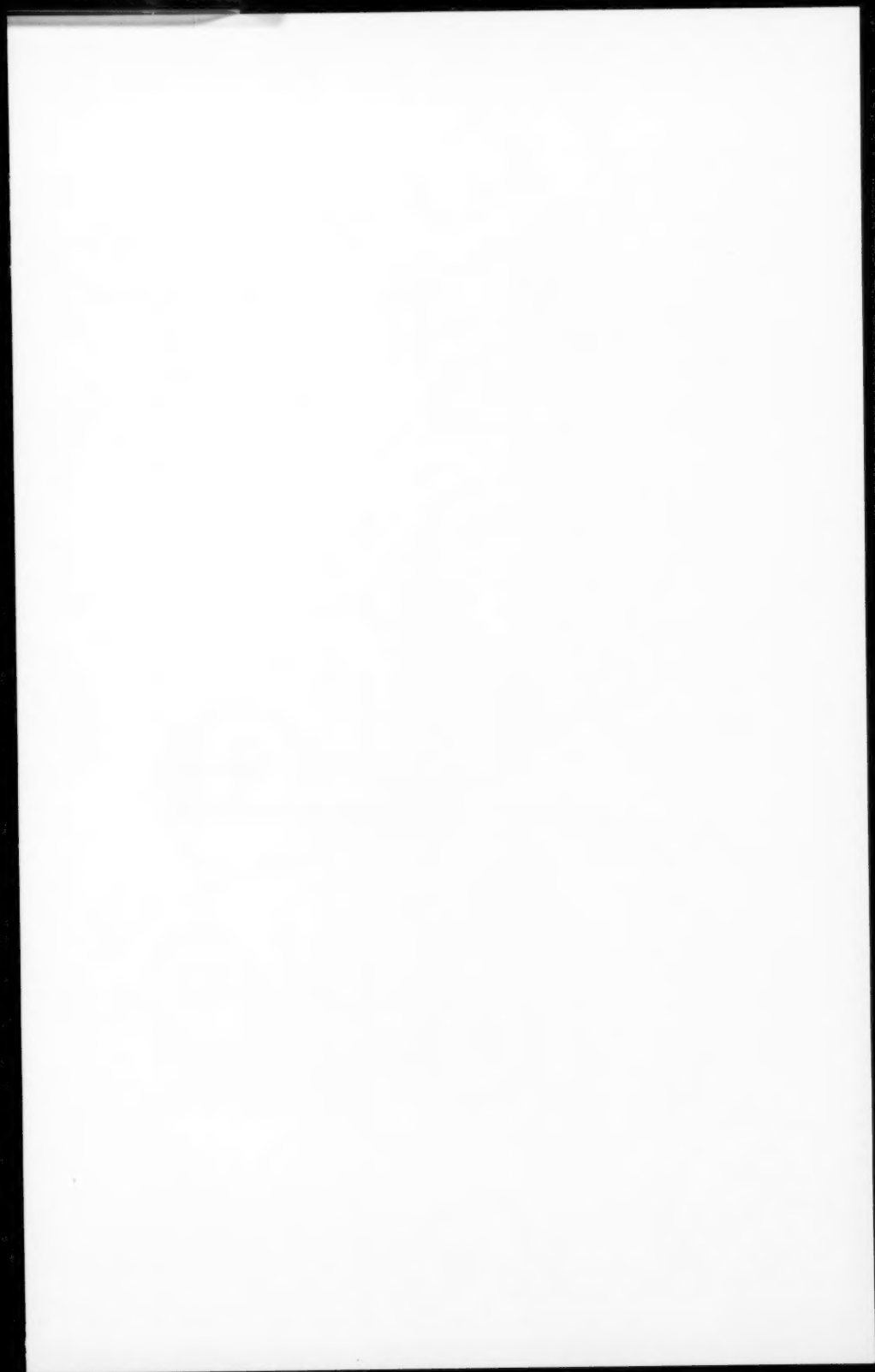
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MOTHER M. ANGELA GILESPIE

Mother M. Angela, C.S.C.

Vivian Lyon Moore

ONE OF THE BRIGHT STARS in the educational galaxy of the Roman Catholic Church was Mother M. Angela of the Sisters of the Holy Cross. She was a true pioneer, both as an educator and as a member of the Community, having received the habit in 1853 and the appointment as directress of the infant St. Mary's Academy at Bertrand, early the following year. In that brief interim she had exhibited such marked evidences of her vocation that she had been permitted by special dispensation to make her religious profession in less than twelve months after her reception—a most unusual circumstance. From 1854 until her death she continued to act in one administrative capacity or another, and she was responsible for the formulation of the plan of education which St. Mary's Academy has always endeavored to follow during its more than one hundred years of existence.

As Eliza Maria Gillespie, Mother Angela was born in Washington County, Pennsylvania, February 21, 1824, to John Purcell Gillespie and his wife, Mary Madeleine (Miers) Gillespie. She was the great-granddaughter of Neal Gillespie, a Scotch immigrant to Delaware in 1765. In her childhood she had as a close companion and playmate her dear cousin, James G. Blaine, who was to win renown in our national history and, through Robert Ingersoll's eloquence, to become known as the Plumed Knight. It is of interest in this connection to note that Margaret (Blaine) Damrosch, wife of the famous Walter Damrosch, was, therefore, a first cousin, once removed, of Mother Angela.

After finishing school under the tutelage of the Dominicans at Somerset, Ohio, and the Visitandines at Georgetown, D. C., Eliza Gillespie "took a prominent place in society with a graciousness that charmed all, and both in Washington and at Lancaster, [Pennsylvania] made many friends," says Sister Rita, the historian of Holy Cross. Sister Rita says further:

Always full of energy as she was, we are not surprised to learn that she was active in social affairs, entered into charitable movements with

enthusiasm, taught poor children, sewed for the several institutions of charity in the city, and was a leader in the many activities of the Church. The social incidents of those times in which she took part read strangely to us, who can hardly imagine James G. Blaine arrayed as an Indian, or General [Hugh] Ewing in kilts as a "Highland Archer," or General W. T. Sherman as the hero of a conquest over a bat that threatened to disturb the pleasure of a party of young folk.¹

But the social round did not satisfy the future nun. After a period of indecision, followed by a short retreat at Bertrand on the advice of Father Edward Sorin, founder of the University of Notre Dame, she cast her lot with the Holy Cross Sisters in their humble mid-western beginnings. For her novitiate the new postulant was sent to the Mother House in France, where she likewise acquainted herself with the best methods for the instruction of deaf-mutes. Thus she became a pioneer in another field, in which her labors antedated those of the more widely known Alexander Graham Bell.

After her return from France, under her direction the tiny academy succeeded beyond expectation.

Mother Angela was . . . ahead of her time in matters pertaining to the education of young women and, long before the days of "higher education," she had outlined a plan of studies for St. Mary's . . . that had as an end the highest and best in mental and moral training. . . . She seemed to impart her spirit to all, Sisters and pupils [alike]. The standard of the school was raised; there was the beginning of a general trend toward the best in the intellectual and artistic training of the students; and her hands fashioned the first rude bookshelves that were dignified with the name of "library."²

One suspects that perhaps some of the books reposing on those shelves may have come from her hands also, for she compiled the Metropolitan series of readers and was instrumental in the publication of the Excelsior series of readers and other textbooks.

Sister Charles Borromeo, C.S.C., who had been a student at St. Mary's during the Bertrand days, wrote of the directress:

Sister Angela was much loved by the Sisters and pupils. Full of joyous zeal and fervor, she imparted her spirit to all. . . . She was very kind and had the gift of drawing all hearts to her. . . . While in Bertrand she worked hard to raise the standard of the school. She made the best of everything and, even in her poverty, she contrived ways of

¹Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 136-37 (Notre Dame, no date).

²Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 47, 73.

making things appear elegant. . . . In December of 1854 she went to Niles in a wood box which old Joseph had made into a sled. Her errand was to purchase candy and other knick knacks for the Christmas tree.³

As the academy grew, a change of location seemed necessary. A site on the bank of the St. Joseph River at Notre Dame, not far from the university, was chosen and there the cornerstone was laid on April 24, 1855. Six months later, under Sister Angela's supervision, the school transferred from Bertrand to the new Mother House, which included the convent, the novitiate, the industrial school, and the school for deaf-mutes, in addition to the academy. Even the old frame buildings from Bertrand had been removed to Notre Dame. They were painstakingly cleaned and arranged by Sister Angela and her one helper, and served as housing for the institution until 1860.

Financially the venture was greatly aided by a substantial gift from William Phelan, Mother Angela's stepfather, who also assisted his stepdaughter in laying out the artistic grounds. It was through Sister Angela's efforts, too, that the state of Indiana granted St. Mary's its very liberal charter, which contained this paragraph: "St. Mary's Academy is empowered to confer such academic degrees as are customary in female academies of the highest order."⁴ Though actual degrees were still far in the future, it may well be that this is one of the earliest instances of permission for degrees granted to the then supposedly intellectually inferior females. Thus, in a very real sense, it can be said that Mother Angela was the founder of the present St. Mary's, and, as is appropriate, her portrait occupies a conspicuous position on the wall of one of the parlors today.

From the very first "her influence was felt in all things, even the smallest." No detail escaped her notice, nor was any contretemps allowed to interrupt or disrupt scheduled proceedings. The story is told of one early commencement day, when the prizes designed for distribution failed to arrive on time; whereupon Mother Angela borrowed the books received a few hours before by some of the Notre Dame students . . . and, after they had stood proxy for the belated books and had been presented in public to the fair recipients, they were collected and returned to their rightful owners.⁵

³Sisters of the Holy Cross, *Pioneers and Builders*, 46 (Notre Dame, 1941).

⁴Sister M. Francis Jerome, *This Is Mother Pauline*, 77 (Notre Dame, 1945).

⁵Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 74.

It was under her regime, too, that the first graduating medals—Latin crosses of silver—were awarded.

During the Civil War era the partisan political atmosphere, heated and intolerant, penetrated even into convent schools, as girls from the North and the South, imbued with the tense sectionalism of the day, met within those walls. Verbal battles, if nothing more violent, were inevitable. Often the gentle directress faced the necessity of calming antipathetical demonstrations among her pupils, when Yankee and Dixie clashed with Dixie. The story of one such encounter, which was widely circulated by the contemporary press, is as follows:

The encounter . . . had as the leader of the Union party Miss Minnie Sherman, daughter of General Sherman. The enthusiastic Federals among the Seniors draped the Stars and Stripes over a doorway through which the student body had to pass; but a loyal daughter of the South saw the emblem and, with flashing eyes, stepped from the ranks and pulled the flag from its place. According to the newspaper reports of the affair, we should here give as a *denouement* the list of wounded combatants; but truth obliges us to spoil the dramatic story by recording that, though there was a sortie of some kind, the war which threatened was, thanks to the presence of Mother Angela . . . confined to deadly glances.⁶

Early in the war Mother Angela took five other Sisters to the South with her to offer their services as nurses. She reported to General Ulysses S. Grant in October, 1861, and shortly was ordered to open a hospital in Mound City, Illinois. This institution came to be one of the best in the military service, open to the wounded and sick from both armies without discrimination. Naturally it would not have met modern standards of supplies and equipment, both of which were woefully inadequate; but the devoted Sisters scrubbed the place to shining cleanliness, slept on the floor, shared the regular ward rations, and passed on to their patients any choice tidbits that came their way from gallant officers.

Though Mother Angela served practically throughout the war in military hospitals and on hospital boats, she kept up with her home duties, never losing touch with any of her manifold responsibilities. After the cessation of hostilities she carried on the work of St. Mary's with ever increasing efficiency and a high degree of success.

⁶Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 75.

Many ideas now advanced as new by modern educators were embodied in her plans more than seventy years ago. The academy prospered and received recognition as one of the finest institutions of its kind in the country—which reputation it still maintains.

Mother Angela did not live to see the academy evolve into a top-ranking college for women, the first Roman Catholic women's school to confer a college degree; but it seems eminently fitting that that first degree, a bachelor of letters in English, should have been earned by her grandniece, Agnes Ewing Brown, who presented work in English, philosophy, mathematics, Greek, Latin, and French, and a thesis in the field of pedagogy.

In 1887 Mother Angela died and her bright light was extinguished on earth.

With her life was snapped a golden link that bound the growing community with the past, and those who had known her and labored with her and loved her never wholly passed out of the shadow of her death.⁷

Perhaps the writer of this sketch can close in no better way than by quoting Sister Rita's description of this wonderful pioneer teacher, her summing up of this outstanding character.

Mother Angela's indefatigable zeal made it possible for her to seem to be in many places at once . . . [and] the variety of interests which engaged her powers challenges wonder and admiration. Whether compiling text-books, superintending the organization of a hospital corps, translating the Directory and Rules for the Congregation, conducting an examination of the classes, or presiding at the Sisters' recreations, Mother Angela was always a centre of helpful activity, radiating an influence that impelled to highest effort; and it is not to be wondered at that in those early troublous times the community considered her vocation to Holy Cross a direct answer to prayer.⁸

⁷Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 188.

⁸Sister M. Rita, *A Story of Fifty Years*, 76.

Michigan News

THE EIGHTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING of the Historical Society of Michigan was hosted by the Genesee County Historical and Museum Society in conjunction with the centennial observance of the city of Flint on October 6-8, 1955. An outstanding program was arranged by Mrs. Harold Manley, vice president of the state society; Arthur G. Abraham, curator of the Genesee County society; Mrs. Roy Hathaway, chairman of the state society committee on school activities; Richard A. Pohrt, president of the Genesee County Historical and Museum Society; William Webb, director of the Flint Public Library and trustee of the state society; and F. Clever Bald, president of the state society.

Scheduled events were a visit to the courthouse to view the local society's holdings which included one of the country's outstanding collections on the history of light; and a visit to "The Oaks", the home of Mrs. A. B. C. Hardy, who is a longtime member of the Historical Society of Michigan and of the Genesee County Historical and Museum Society. The house was built by Mrs. Hardy's grandfather in 1855-56, and has been occupied since that time by some member of the family. Mrs. Hardy was most generous in sharing her furnishings and heritage collections of priceless china, valuable books, and authentic costumes. The Oaks was open to members of the society on both days of the convention.

A reception for society authors; a program presenting old-time movies, slides, tapes, and records; movies "This Is Your City," and "The Sault Canal"; a talk by Richard A. Pohrt, president of the Genesee County society on "History in Hobbies"; a delightful program of instrumental music and excerpts from operas by members of the International Institute under the supervision of Miss Eloise Tanner, director; a panel discussion on "History in the Schools"; and the discussion of the "Economics of our Community" by William Quinn; gave the conferees tangible evidence of the variable facets of historical materials.

Arthur Pound, author and former Flint man, gave a vivid picture of early Flint in his talk "General Motors' Old Home Town", which

is printed in this issue of *Michigan History*. Speaker at the closing luncheon was Alfred P. Haake, General Motors consultant and economist, on "Building Our Future Out of the Past."

Dr. F. Clever Bald, retiring president of the Society of Michigan, introduced the new president, Victor Lemmer of Ironwood; and vice president, Henry Edmunds, archivist for Ford Motor Company. The society's annual convention in 1956 will be at Niles.

Historical Society of Michigan awards were presented to the *Lansing State Journal*, the *Birmingham Eccentric*, the *Escanaba Daily Press*, and the *Flint Journal* for their contributions to the history of their respective cities. The Historical Commission Certificate of Recognition was presented by President Lewis G. Vander Velde to Fred Dustin of Saginaw, archaeologist and student of Indian history; and to Joseph and Estelle Bayliss for their efforts to further interest in the St. Marys River region.

MICHIGAN NOTED TWO CENTENNIALS this past year that were of statewide importance. The first was at the topmost northern spot on the St. Mary's River, which forms the boundary line between Canada and the United States. Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, and Sault Ste Marie, Michigan, joined in a summer-long observance of the centennial of the Soo locks. With pageantry, exhibits, displays, a Centurama, a diorama of the "Soo 100 years Ago," Marine Fair and Exposition, the reopening of historic buildings, with ships and ceremony, the story of the Soo locks was retold. American and Canadian publications, also, presented in stories and pictures this fascinating tale. The Sault Ste Marie *Evening News* published a centennial edition on June 18, 1955. A thirty-six page booklet, *The Sault Canal Through 100 Years*, by Dr. F. Clever Bald of the University of Michigan gave a clear and concise description of the locks. The April 20 issue of *Michigan Tradesman* used an aerial photograph of the Soo locks for the cover. Inside was a story of the iron ore traffic on the Great Lakes with pictures of some of the Great Lakes boats. The July issue of the *United States Steel Company's News* had for its cover picture one of its fleet of carriers bound upward for iron ore and ran an interesting article entitled "100 Candles for the Soo." The *Michigan Education*

Journal for May 1 featured the Soo locks for the cover and included a story. The *Saturday Evening Post* of June 4, the April issue of *Michigan Bell*, the June 5 edition of the Minneapolis *Sunday Tribune*, the autumn issue of the *Beaver*, are only a few of many periodicals to feature the Soo and its one hundredth anniversary. The Michigan State Library as a contribution to the Soo Locks Centennial Celebration published a fourteen page booklet, *The Soo Canal, 1857*, which is a reprint of the "Report of St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal" by Elisha Calkins, superintendent, appearing in the March, 1955 issue of *Michigan History*. Dailies, weeklies, and county papers reported on the Soo activities with stories of Charles T. Harvey, the hero and builder of the canal. The *Soo Canal*, reviewed in the December, 1954 issue of *Michigan History*, and *Young Mister Big* are two interesting books by William Ratigan which recount the colorful story of the building and the builder of the locks.

The University of Michigan produced a film showing of the locks, which was widely shown before young and old. In June the Essex County, Canada, radio saluted the Soo canal with a paper prepared by Milo M. Quaife and read by Dr. Neil F. Morrison. Dramatizations of the history and the present-day importance of the Soo locks was a highlight of the University of Michigan radio classroom series of thirteen programs broadcast during February, March, and April. The university also produced a telecourse of seven half-hour programs with emphasis on the Soo locks.

The Chippewa County Historical Society under the able leadership of its president, Miss Myrtle Elliott, spent a busy summer assisting in the celebration. The society members acted as guides for visitors at the Soo and had charge of the Johnston and Schoolcraft homes which were open to the public. Nearly six thousand people signed the guest book at the Schoolcraft house. Visitors registered from Ireland, Germany, and Thailand. Among the groups visiting the Soo was one of thirty social studies teachers from the University of Minnesota, a "Wisconsin Museums Bus Tour" from Milwaukee, and the Wally Byams Caravan of one hundred twenty-five trailers from as far west as California. The



Courtesy Sault Ste Marie Evening News

DR. F. CLEVER BALD

MRS. H. V. EASTBURN

MISS MYRTLE ELLIOTT



society also was host to the Sixth Annual Upper Peninsula Historical Conference, August 12-13.

The Michigan State University was the second centennial of state-wide significance. As the brightest star in a dazzling diadem, Michigan State achieved university status during her year of centennial celebration. Beginning with a Founder's Day observance on February 12, and continuing throughout the year, the school presented a varied array of centennial programs. A five-hundred page history of the land-grant institution was written by faculty member Dr. Madison Kuhn.

The city of Flint observed its centennial in 1955, September 4 through 11, with the publication of a centennial edition of the *Journal* on September 4, a "Faith and Freedom Rally" with Dr. Ralph J. Bunche as the main speaker, a parade with floats, a Flintorama show, exhibits; and through the year a concerted drive to produce major improvements in the new cultural center, a new civic center, and a new tie-in with the University of Michigan. The major effort of the city of Flint in its centennial observance was put into the development of plans for a \$13,000,000 cultural center to be located on the Oak Grove campus and land adjoining, which was donated by Charles S. Mott. Part of the buildings are already completed and the rest will be under way within two years. Among the buildings is to be a historical museum planned in such a way that it will allow for future expansion. The Genesee County Historical and Museum Society was host to the eighty-first annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan October 6-8 at Flint.

Cheboygan County observed its centennial birthday with a centennial queen, a regatta on the Cheboygan River, parades, fishing contests, sailing and canoe races, homecoming day, and fireworks displays.

Ithaca and Gratiot County simultaneously observed their centennials this past year. The Gratiot County *Herald* contributed a beautiful pictorial edition on August 18 of 208 pages, in which appeared 1052 individual engravings with over two thousand identified persons.

Mason County was another county to celebrate its one hundredth birthday with a party and the marking of historic sites. Hastings in Barry County chose one hundred year old Mrs. Ida Palmatier as centennial queen, and celebrated with bewhiskered gentlemen and dated gowns.

The *Lansing State Journal* on April 28 issued the largest edition ever published in Michigan in observing the centennial of its publication. The centennial edition contained not only the story of the newspaper but the "colorful and authentic history of the entire life of Lansing and its surrounding area." Section headings provide a table of contents. For instance, Section B "End of the Beginning" has material on the glacial era, the fur traders, and the Indian trails. Section I "Swamps to Runways" covers the subjects of aviation, city utilities, agriculture, the telephone and telegraph, homes, and area newspapers. Section A points out that the Boys Vocational School was established in 1855 and thus is also one hundred years old. The edition is provided with a liberal and interesting supply of pictures. The *State Journal* received an award from the American Association for State and Local History for its long-sustained interest in history which reached its zenith with the centennial edition.

The Berlin Fair held August 29 to September 3, 1955, observed its one hundredth anniversary with the publication of a small, un-numbered-page booklet which packs a lot of interesting information on life a century ago. For instance, it reports the 1850 statistics showed 287 working oxen in Ottawa County. This number increased to 1,778 by 1864. Early premiums were awarded for the best spoke machine, the best wagon wheel; and in the manufactured articles class for the best horse shoe nail.

Western Michigan's 126th Infantry Regiment of the National Guard celebrated its 100th birthday with a colorful parade, in which the uniforms of the Spanish-American, the Mexican, and the Civil War were included.

The writer has received information of the birthday celebration of but two churches this year. The Emanuel Lutheran Church of Lansing produced a concisely written and beautiful pictorial history of its first hundred years as part of its birthday activities.

The First Baptist Church of Sault Ste Marie observed its seventy-fifth birthday with a special service and picnic at Brimley Park.

The centennial of the publication of *The Song of Hiawatha* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was observed in 1955 and was reported upon in the December, 1955 issue of *Michigan History*.

THE YEAR 1955 added more than one hundred to the number of certified centennial farmers under a program to mark centennial farms inaugurated in 1948 by the Michigan Historical Commission. Michigan farmers who received in 1955 farm centennial certificates, together with the township in which they live, their relationship to the original owner through which the present owner holds title, and the date of acquisition of the farm are as follows:

BARRY COUNTY

Eckardt, Bertha M. *Woodland*. Daughter-in-law. 1855.

Eckardt, Karl F. *Woodland*. Grandson. 1855.

BERRIEN COUNTY

Blanchard, Virgil J. *Berrien*. Grandson. 1854.

Bury, John D. *Benton*. Grandson. 1837.

Damon, Oscar. *Hagar*. Son. 1855.

Damon, Warren Martin. *Hagar*. Grandson. 1855.

French, C. F. *Bertrand*. Grandson. 1854.

Kerstetter, Bessie Michael. *Berrien*. Granddaughter. 1835.

Scherer, Jerome. *Bainbridge*. Grandson. 1853.

Young, Mrs. Edna S. *Niles*. Granddaughter. 1854.

BRANCH COUNTY

Sherer, John. *California*. Grandson. 1853.

CALHOUN COUNTY

Smith, Wilbur. *Newton*. Great-grandson. 1840.

CASS COUNTY

Spencer, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. *Porter*. Granddaughter. 1846.

CLINTON COUNTY

Clark, Victor J. *Eagle*. Grandson. 1835.

Hall, Francis C. *Duplain*. Grandson. 1855.

EATON COUNTY

Bradley, Verner J. *Kalamo*. Grandson. 1841.

Kellogg, Elizabeth R. *Eaton Rapids*. Great-granddaughter. 1839.

King, Keith W. and Lillian. *Carmel*. Great-grandson. 1854.

GENESEE COUNTY

- Coquigne, Silas E. and Olive L. *Mundy*. Grandson. 1855.
Dart, George E. *Gaines*. Great-grandson. 1839.
Kelly, Mrs. Ella. *Fairgrove*. Granddaughter. 1854.
Skinner, Elmer E. *Burton*. Grandson. 1835.
Winton, Mrs. O. H. *Richfield*. Great-granddaughter. 1853.

HILLSDALE COUNTY

- Wolf, Harvey and Mabel. *Pittsford*. Great-grandson. 1855.

HURON COUNTY

- Lucas, Carolyn Hubbard. *Huron*. Granddaughter. 1854.

IONIA COUNTY

- Densmore, Max C. *Easton*. Grandson. 1852.

ISABELLA COUNTY

- Adams, Robert E. *Coe*. Grandson. 1854.

JACKSON COUNTY

- Ballard, Eunice H. *Leoni*. Great-great-granddaughter. 1836.
Barber, Milton H. *Waterloo*. Great-grandson. 1849.
Cowing, James I. *Henrietta*. Great-grandson. 1855.
Perrine, William F. *Rives*. Grandson. 1853.

KALAMAZOO COUNTY

- Doolittle, Wilbur Francis. *Richland*. Great-grandson. 1836.
Milham, Alvin T. *Pavilion*. Great-grandson. 1853.

KENT COUNTY

- Bird, Lynn and Audrey. *Courtland*. Grandson. 1849.
Downes, Edward J. and Leone I. *Ada*. Great-grandson. 1844.
Dochow, Homer and Ollie. *Gaines*. Grandson. 1853.
Gilson, Ellis J. *Sparta*. Grandson. 1854.
Keefer, Fred C. *Gaines*. Grandson. 1850.
Stauffer, Marion. *Bowne*. Great-granddaughter. 1854.
Yeiter, Lloyd J. *Lowell*. Grandson. 1855.

LAPEER COUNTY

- Farley, Mark M. and Mary. *Imlay*. Grandson. 1851.
Griffin, Charles A. and Neva E. *Burlington*. Great-grandson. 1854.
Griffin, O. Walter. *Burlington*. Great-grandson. 1855.
Hamilton, J. L. and Marietta. *Almont*. Grandson. 1841.
McKillop, Hazel. *Burlington*. Granddaughter-in-law. 1855.
Simmons, John. *North Branch*. Grandson. 1855.

LENAWEE COUNTY

Eaton, Arthur J. *Tecumseh*. Great-grandson. 1837.

LIVINGSTON COUNTY

Allen, Rex and Beulah. *Conway*. Great-grandson. 1855.

Armstrong, Harold J. *Hartland*. Great-nephew. 1853.

Carter, Fred and Ada. *Green Oak*. Grandson. 1850.

Crawford, Earle A. *Brighton*. Great-grandson. 1835.

Crouse, J. Robert, Jr. *Hartland*. Great-grandson. 1849.

Dexter, Cornell A. *Tyrone*. Grandson. 1845.

Dexter, Seth. *Tyrone*. Grandson. 1854.

Maltby, Mildred M. *Green Oak*. Granddaughter. 1853.

Marvin, Julia R. *Tyrone*. Granddaughter. 1853.

Warner, Herbert. *Brighton*. Grandson. 1841.

Zeeb, William F., Donna E. and Harley W. *Genoa*. Granddaughter. 1845.

MACOMB COUNTY

Lefurgey, Harry J. and Beulah M. *Macomb*. Great-grandson. 1854.

MASON COUNTY

Hull, Mrs. Alford S. (Alice). *Pere Marquette*. Granddaughter-in-law. 1852.

MONROE COUNTY

Howe, Ernest W. *Milan*. Grandson. 1854.

Kamprath, John. *Ida*. Grandson. 1854.

NEWAGO COUNTY

Zerlaub, Carlton and Marie. *Ashland*. Nephew. 1854.

OAKLAND COUNTY

Case, Elizabeth Butts. *Avon*. Granddaughter. 1855.

Doty, Frank. *Rose and Highland*. Great-grandson. 1836.

Jones, Sarah Van Hoosen. *Avon*. Granddaughter. 1850.

Lahring, Burton F. *Holly*. Great-great-nephew. 1838.

OTTAWA COUNTY

Bunce, Carley W. *Chester*. Grandson. 1848.

Champion, Earl. *Talmadge*. Grandson. 1848.

Clayton, Charles J. *Wright*. Grandson. 1845.

Deitrich, Aloys. *Chester*. Great-grandson. 1853.

Hanchett, Lyle J. and Helen Ida. *Polkton*. Grandson. 1854.

Hawley, Harold A. *Talmadge*. Great-grandson. 1852.

Schaefer, Carl. *Chester*. Grandson. 1855.

Vander Laan, Rosemary; Joseph and Emanuel Burke; Florence Finkler; and Evaleen Webster. *Wright*. Grandchildren. 1844.

SAGINAW COUNTY

Cammin, Mildred A. *Saginaw*. Granddaughter. 1837.

Seidel, George J. *Saginaw*. Grandson. 1852.

ST. CLAIR COUNTY

Gibbons, Sarah. *Greenwood*. Daughter. 1855.

Hayes, George. *Greenwood*. Son. 1855.

Meno, George F. *St. Clair*. Son. 1830.

Middleton, Samuel. *Greenwood*. Grandson. 1855.

Shirkey, Chester. *Riley*. Grandson. 1837.

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY

Lintz, John B. and Mildred W. *Constantine*. Grandson. 1841.

Miller, Ralph J. *Mendon*. Grandson. 1853.

Smith, John S. *Mottville*. Grandson. 1839.

SANILAC COUNTY

Cleary, Raymond J. and Lydia. *Delaware*. Grandson. 1855.

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY

Cook, Albert B., Jr. *Bennington*. Great-grandson. 1836.

Thomas, Martin W. and Agnes J. *Hazelton*. Great-niece. 1853.

TUSCOLA COUNTY

Bitzer, Elmer and Florence. *Columbia*. Grandson. 1853.

Hinman, Gernald K. *Columbia*. Great-grandson. 1853.

Hofmeister, L. A. and Alice. *Columbia*. Great-granddaughter.
1853.

Morrison, Earl F. *Dayton*. Great-grandson. 1854.

Sheridan, Tim. *Fairgrove*. Grandson. 1855.

Vandemark, Ralph and Alma. *Columbia*. Grandson. 1854.

Wilkinson, Floyd. *Denmark*. Grandson. 1854.

VAN BUREN COUNTY

Hunt, Mearl W. *Hartford*. Grandson. 1855.

Knapp, Elva Bunnell. *Lawrence*. Great - great - granddaughter.
1849.

Lamb, Clare. *Hartford*. Grandson. 1854.

WASHTENAW COUNTY

Boyce, Spencer. *Lyndon*. Great-grandson. 1838.

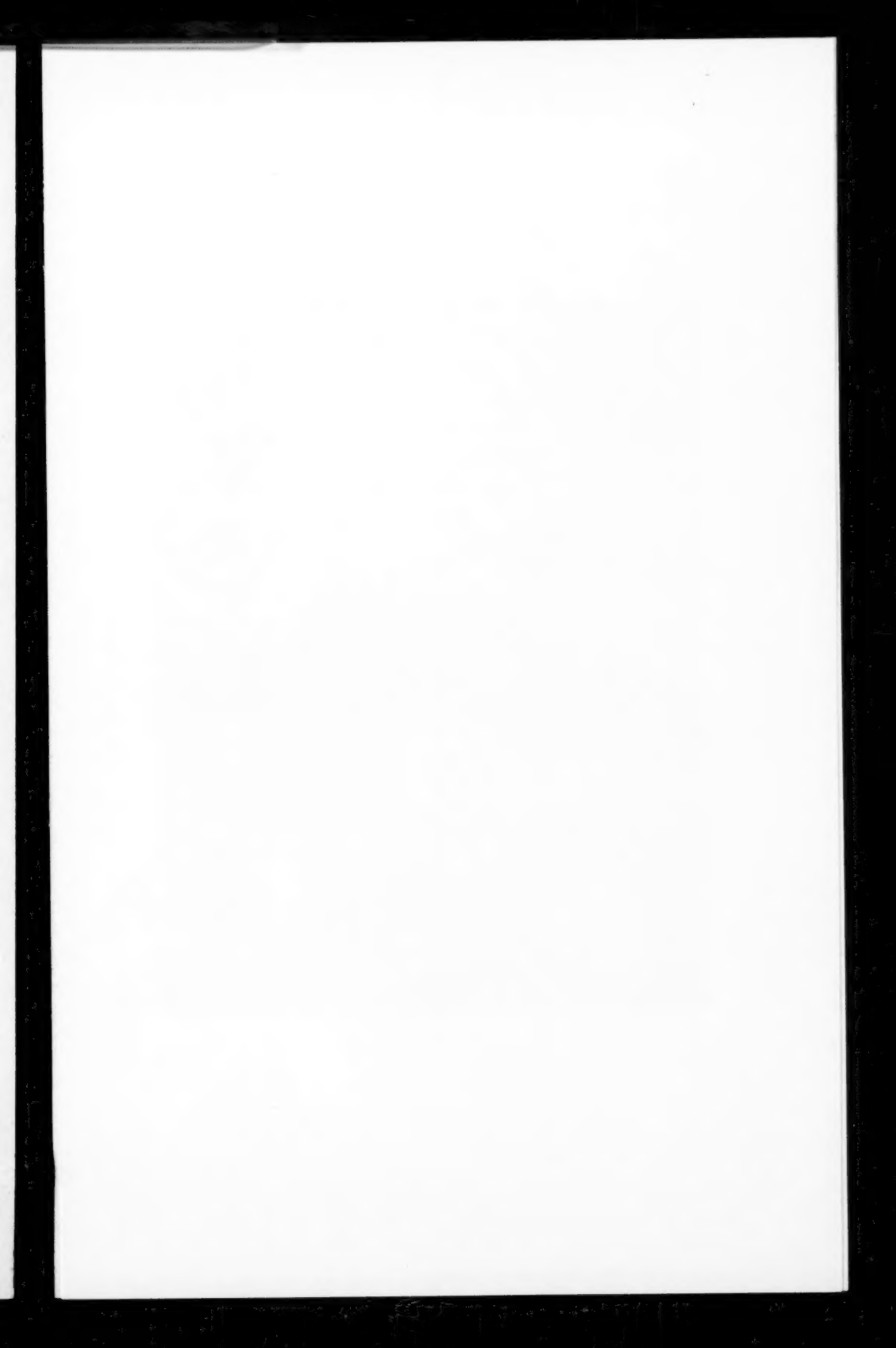
McIntee, Herbert. *Lyndon*. Grandson. 1842.

McKim, Blanche E. *Superior*. Granddaughter. 1826.

Osborne, Elton A. *Saline*. Grandson. 1853.

WAYNE COUNTY

Mac Pherson, Mr. and Mrs. John S. *Taylor*. Grandson. 1853.





Courtesy Flint Journal

MRS. HELEN EVERETT

MRS. KATHARINE EVATT

JOHN C. EVATT

State Senator Edward Hutchinson presented farm centennial markers to qualified farmers at the Van Buren County Fair October 7, 1955. This brings to seventeen the number in Van Buren County who have had their farms certified as centennial farms by the Michigan Historical Commission. The Berlin Fair in observing its centennial presented the Historical Commission's centennial farm markers to qualified farmers. Centennial farm markers were presented by Mrs. Helen Everett of the Michigan Historical Commission staff at the Oatman School (near Avoca) reunion on August 28 to qualified centennial farmers. Despite the rain, over two hundred were present at a bohemian dinner and the program which followed.

THE ANNUAL DINNER OF THE GENESEE COUNTY HISTORICAL and Museum Society on May 18 observed Michigan Week and honored the centennial farmers of the county. William Webb, Flint librarian and trustee of the Historical Society of Michigan, was toastmaster. Richard A. Pohrt, president of the local society, extended greetings to the group of over one hundred present. Dr. Basil Zimmer, resident director of the University of Michigan Research Project, spoke on the subject, "Flint Area Citizens Look to the Future." A skit entitled "This Is My City," under the direction of Miss Julia Ross, given by the students of the Emerson Junior High School portrayed the elements that have gone into making the city of Flint.

Centennial farmers of the county were honored at the dinner and received the enameled centennial farm marker, under a program sponsored by the Michigan Historical Commission. The markers were presented by Mrs. Helen Everett, associate editor of *Michigan History*. Recipients were Mrs. Katharine Evatt, Ford and Myrtie Goodrich, Elmer Skinner, and Frank Pierce. Others were eligible to receive the marker but were not present at the dinner. As of the end of the year a total of forty-five farmers in the county have been certified as centennial farmers and qualify for the marker.

THE PLANTING OF A WHITE PINE on the capitol lawn at Lansing on April 28, 1955, marked the public recognition of the white pine as Michigan's official state tree. Public Act No. 7, sponsored by Representative Holly Hubbard and signed by the governor on March 8, was the culmination of the efforts of the Webber School in Saginaw and Mrs. Mabel DeFere, teacher of English there, who originated the idea to make the white pine Michigan's official tree. Webber School had its own tree planting ceremony on May 20 with Dr. Lewis Beeson as the speaker.

The white pine has long been renowned in the Michigan lumber industry. Extending across the state northward from St. Clair to Muskegon and throughout the Upper Peninsula, the white pine furnished building material for the homes of the growing West and laid the foundation for Michigan's financial and industrial greatness. Today the white pine has a prominent part in the reforestation program of the state. It prefers moist sandy loam soil but will grow in either swampy or dry sand. It is slow growing at first and grows best when protected from the wind and heat. Later it achieves one to two or more feet a year. It reaches a height of eighty to one hundred-twenty feet at maturity.

Norman F. Smith of the forestry division of the department of conservation in *Michigan Trees Worth Knowing* writes:

The bark of white pine is smooth, dark greenish brown on young trees, gray and deeply grooved on older trees. The needles occur in clusters of five, and this is the only five-needle pine native to eastern United States. The needles are three to five inches long, pale blue green in color, and are fine and soft compared to the needles of the other two native Michigan pines, the red and jack pine.

The flowers of white pine occur as small cones in May and June. the staminate or male flowers on the lower branches and the ovulate or female cone-producing flowers on the upper branches. The drooping cones are five to ten inches long, narrow and tapering, with rather loose flexible scales, opening in September of the second year. The seeds are brown, about one-quarter inch long and average about twenty-five thousand per pound. They are a preferred food of red squirrels which often cache the cones in large piles for the winter. The winter buds are slender and sharp pointed, about one-quarter to one-half inch long.

Branching along the main stem occurs nearly at right angles to it, in a whorl-like arrangement, a new whorl being formed with each year's growth. The ages of young trees can be closely determined by

counting these whorls of branches or branch scars. White pine wood is creamy-white to reddish brown, soft, straight-grained and uniform in texture.

Two remaining stands of virgin pine are preserved in the lower peninsula in the Interlochen and Hartwick Pines State Parks.

SINCE 1950 THE MICHIGAN BIBLIOGRAPHY appearing in *Michigan History* has been under the general supervision of Mrs. Elleine H. Stones, who is chairman of the bibliography committee of the Historical Society of Michigan, a former trustee of the society, and head of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. Mrs. Stones was named recipient of the 1955 Staff Memorial and Fellowship Award of the Detroit Public Library on October 9. This award, consisting of a check for \$700. is presented annually to the librarian who, in the opinion of her fellow staff members, has made an outstanding contribution to librarianship over the past ten years or more. The Michigan Historical Commission honored Mrs. Stones in 1953 by naming her one of five women to receive the commission's certificate of merit for her distinguished contribution to Michigan history through her work at the library. In 1950 she received the Craftsman Award on behalf of the printing and graphic arts trade for her work in preserving and maintaining the Burton Historical Collection.

THE SCHOONER J. T. WING, located at the south shore of Belle Isle, was closed to visitors on October 30, 1955, after serving for six years as the home of the Museum of Great Lakes History. The *Wing* was built in 1919 at Weymouth, Nova Scotia; and according to Captain Joseph E. Johnston, curator of the Museum of Great Lakes History, has had a long and interesting career. Extensive repairs would be required were the *Wing* to serve another year. The ship was a present from Grant H. Piggott of the J. T. Wing Company, and Joseph Braun of the Braun Lumber Company, to the city of Detroit. The exhibits, including the largest collection of Great Lakes ship models in existence, were moved to the Detroit Historical Museum.

Book Reviews and Notes

The Beth El Story, with a History of the Jews in Michigan before 1850. By Irving I. Katz; and *Three Hundred Years in America.* By Jacob R. Marcus. (Detroit, Wayne University Press, 1955. 238 p. Illustrations and index. \$6.50.)

In 1654 a group of 23 Sephardic (Iberian) Jews came to New Amsterdam. Having fled from the dying embers of the Inquisition, they came to North America seeking the freedom denied to them in many countries on the continent of Europe and in South America. The Tercentenary observance of this first settlement last year brought forth many volumes devoted to a study of Jewish History in America. *The Beth El Story, with a History of the Jews in Michigan before 1850* by the executive director of Temple Beth El in Detroit, Irving I. Katz, is a handsome publication, beautifully printed and contains many worthwhile reproductions. The volume is a result of many years of conscientious and meticulous research. With painstaking detail the author has catalogued the data regarding early Jewish migration into Michigan, as well as a complete chronology of Detroit's Temple Beth El, the oldest and most influential reform congregation in Michigan. George W. Stark, president of the Detroit Historical Society, Leonard Simons, president of Temple Beth El, and Dr. Richard C. Hertz, spiritual leader of the Temple, have penned introductions to the book. A concise and informative history of American Jewry by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati completes the contents of the volume.

In his first section Mr. Katz thoroughly explores the early coming of Jewish traders and settlers into the Wolverine state. In 1761 Ezekiel Solomons came to Mackinac Island and, together with Chapman Abraham, Levi Solomons and Gershon Levy, formed a partnership to trade in furs with the Indians. The struggles and trials of these early traders are well documented and the reader is afforded a glimpse of rugged country in the Old Northwest before the great migration that was to follow. In contrast with the purely commercial ventures of the early traders in this area, the German-Jewish immigrants who came in the decades preceding the Civil War, formed the beginnings of permanent settlements that endure to this day. The formation of a *Minyan* (religious quorum) in Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti and the purchase by this congregation of a cemetery and a *Sefer Torah* (the Scroll of Moses) are interesting details of their Jewish integration into America.

The bulk of *The Beth El Story* is exactly what its name implies. It is a chronological history of Temple Beth El beginning in 1850 and extending to 1954. The history of the Temple is replete with repro-

ductions of photographs, newspaper clippings and other documents of some interest. The break with traditional Jewish practice, the long and eventful tenure of the late Rabbi Leo Franklin who mirrored and molded the Temple's development, and more recent developments, are all carefully noted.

Any criticism of *The Beth El Story* would have to deal with Mr. Katz' approach to historical writing. His emphasis, with the exception of his treatment of the very earliest years of Jewish history in Michigan, is on the barest notation of the event and the date of its occurrence. The social, intellectual, religious, and economic background of these events and their meaning in the total picture of American life or in the history of American Jewry are given either no attention or little attention. One surmises that the author did not intend to write this kind of a history of Detroit's earliest Jewish settlers at this time. It is to be hoped that he will use the rich, primary materials at his disposal for a subsequent volume and deal with the more profound and fascinating aspects of this entire period. This more comprehensive account would serve to round out the portrait of the distinguished men and women who fashioned the history of his Temple and, in a large measure, the history of Detroit Jewry.

Beth Israel Center, Ann Arbor

JULIUS WEINBERG

The Northern Light, An American Looks at Finland and Scandinavia. By Mary Bikkie Mickelsen. (New York, Exposition Press, 1955. 537 p. \$5.00.)

The Michigan Historical Society considers the broader aspects of the history of the people of Michigan as it promotes interest in state history. The various regions of the state have their distinctive local color, as individual as the landscape. The source of many common customs and attitudes toward life may be found in the European traditions of the people. Mrs. Mary Bikkie Mickelsen, a resident of Hancock, surveys the culture of modern Scandinavia and Finland in her book, *The Northern Light*. By learning to understand the lands of our forefathers, we can gradually extend our sphere of understanding to include the cultures farther and farther removed from our own. The essential similarity of people, particularly from the religious point of view, is a dominant theme in Mrs. Mickelsen's book.

Mrs. Mickelsen records her experiences on a trip through England, Sweden, Finland, and northern Norway with her husband, the Rev. Andrew Mickelsen, president of the Apostolic Lutheran Church of America. Southern Norway and Denmark are not included in Mrs. Mickelsen's brief visit to Scandinavia; however, the villages, the countryside, the primitive areas of the far north, as well as the great cities

of Finland and Sweden are described in great detail. Naturally, Mrs. Mickelsen is most interested in the spiritual life of the people, in the church conventions she attended, and in her husband's work. Her account of the material as well as the spiritual aspects of church life in the various countries should be of interest to members of every denomination in Michigan.

The large Scandinavian population of upper Michigan will find this volume of considerable interest. Naturally, any immigrant group attempts to preserve the best of the old traditions and still gain the advantages of the new. Gradually, however, changes are made by passing years and new generations. In Norway, for example, even the language has been modified to such an extent that an American speaking the Norwegian learned from his grandparents will find himself an object of considerable historical interest, for some dialects are preserved as a spoken language only in the United States. It is well to renew contact with the Old World. Not only should one understand and appreciate the heritage of the past but also one must shatter illusions which have been built up over the years. The "old country" has changed as well as the new; the land is not as it was remembered by grandparents or imagined by grandchildren.

One must learn to understand, to judge not in terms of American culture but in terms of the culture of the people in whose country one lives for a time as a guest. To learn to live and think as another people is of immense importance in a world growing constantly smaller. Even a sympathetic visitor cannot gain an insight into everyday life in the brief time allotted a tourist. The casual visitor does not have time to adjust to the requirements of a new culture unless he has had considerable experience and is able to adapt himself rapidly to each new situation. The average traveler will find Mrs. Mickelsen's account very much like his own impressions and experiences. The glimpse of everyday life may tempt him to see and learn more, but his own personality and point of view remain unchanged.

Mrs. Mickelsen has written a new and unusual travelog. Most travel books are written by experts of long experience in many lands. Their accounts are bound to reflect their cosmopolitan and, in many cases, rather jaded point of view. Other books, dealing with specific countries, are usually written by people who have lived abroad until they have as keen an understanding of their adopted country as of their own. The only authors who write from the tourist's point of view do so in a humorous vein, satirizing the naive American abroad. Mrs. Mickelsen gives to the world of the travelog a new dimension. I can think of no author who has captured the point of view of the typical American tourist with such fidelity. Mrs. Mickelsen retains her identity as the preacher's wife from Hancock throughout her travels. She reports her experiences and thoughts with charm and sincerity. Mrs. Mickelsen has, in short, opened her notebooks and diary to public inspection.

Mrs. Mickelsen lacks a deep appreciation of European life and culture. On many occasions her petty grievances contrast all too sharply with her quotations from the scriptures. One often feels that she can be truly sympathetic only as long as material comforts are provided. The section on Norway is especially weak. Mrs. Mickelsen does not seem to realize the hardships of life in a land as unyielding as the north cape.

The picture Mrs. Mickelsen gives the reader is not so much a picture of Scandinavia as it is a picture of herself. Her book is actually a fine personal study in which the writer seems hardly aware of the autobiographical character of the tale. In an attempt to characterize the people of Scandinavia she has presented a memorable picture of herself and of her culture. After reading *The Northern Light* it becomes impossible to think of Hancock, without thinking of Mrs. Mickelsen. Her book will be an invaluable source for historians of the next century in their attempts to evaluate our society. Insight into the ordinary life of a past time must be gleaned from a few scattered diaries and letters. Mrs. Mickelsen, however, has had the courage to publish her notes instead of leaving them in her diary, thereby preserving them for the use of future historians.

Ann Arbor

MARILYN STOKSTAD

Let the Moon Go By: A Book of Tall Tales by Emma Gelders Sterne with illustrations by L. F. Bjorkland (Aladdin Books, New York, 1955), is a book of stories for teen-agers. It carries for its first story one about Manabozho, the name made famous by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in "The Song of Hiawatha." Another story with Michigan association deals with Paul Bunyan. The book is dedicated to Carl Sandburg and quotes two stanzas of his *The People, Yes*. The illustrations add to the sheer enjoyment of the tall tales.

"Was This La Salle's 'Griffin?'" by George Randall Fox, historian, archaeologist, and president of the Cass County Historical Society, appearing in the Winter, 1955 issue of *The Beaver* is an enlightening and interesting presentation of the enigma of the first sailing vessel on the Great Lakes.

DR. EUGENE T. PETERSON, DIRECTOR of the Michigan Historical Museum, contributed an article, "Historical Museum—Dead or Alive?" to the October, 1955 issue of the *Midwest Museums Quarterly*. The article was a timely discussion and appropriate to the issue which was devoted largely to historical collections in museums.

The Passenger Pigeon. By A. W. Schorger. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. 424 p. Illustrations, references, notes, and index. \$7.50.)

Forty-seven years ago a Michigan man, William B. Mershon, published a volume on the passenger pigeon. He did so because the extinction of this bird was to him the greatest plea for conservation, a subject that was dear to his heart. It wasn't too good a book—at least it didn't do justice either to the bird or to the Saginaw lumberman, whom this writer ranks with the outstanding conservationists in Michigan history—but until this year it was practically the only thing available that dealt entirely with the remarkable pigeon.

Now, from a neighboring state comes another volume which covers the natural history and extinction of the amazing passenger pigeon. It is in most respects an excellent book and undoubtedly will remain as the major study of this bird for some time.

The story of the passenger pigeon is incredible. There were few contemporaries who could speak with complete objectivity after witnessing a flight or nesting of these birds. They would come in such large flocks that it took hours for them to pass a given point; they nested in such large numbers that they broke down limbs from trees; they were slaughtered for food and sport by the millions; and they completely disappeared from the face of the earth in less than a generation. It is no wonder that this story of abundance and extinction affords the foremost argument for preserving our wildlife resources.

Michigan readers will find much in the volume that will interest them, for the passenger pigeon liked no area better than the beech and mast forests of the northern part of the state. One of the largest nestings and incidentally one of the greatest slaughterings took place near Petoskey in 1878. It was largely as a result of that slaughter that the organized sportsmen of the state made a strong but ineffectual demand for adequate conservation laws. These few voices were lost in the din, for killing the passenger pigeon was a profitable business. They were used both for food and in traps.

Professor Schorger has gathered primary material from many sources. Unfortunately this material is used directly in quotation or paraphrased slightly in page after page so that it gives the impression that the author is simply stringing together contemporary accounts with little or no effort to reconcile their differences or to come to any conclusions.

However, the volume has been long awaited and it fills a need. The illustrations and diagrams are of interest both for the general reader and the scholar. It is unusually well documented: 429 footnotes in nineteen pages of chapter 14, for example. The author has made a notable contribution to ornithology and history.

Michigan Historical Museum

EUGENE T. PETERSEN

Contributors

Thomas D. Odle since 1951 has been an instructor at the Sault Ste Marie branch of the Michigan College of Mining and Technology. He received the Ph.D. degree in history from the University of Michigan in 1952.

Sexson E. Humphreys' historical hobby is United States-Italian diplomatic relations during the Italian unification movement. He began the study of that subject and of the role of Lewis Cass, Jr. in that diplomacy while he was at the University of Rome twenty years ago. He continued the interest while an Indianapolis newspaperman. Now he teaches contemporary affairs in the University of Illinois school of journalism and communications.

Mrs. Carroll Paul has been an inspiration and a guiding spirit not only to the Marquette County Historical Society but to many areas of Michigan and the state society, as well. Her activity with the Fort Wilkins museum was described in an article in the December, 1952 issue of *Michigan History*.

Emil Lorch, former head of the school of architecture at the University of Michigan, has long been interested in the Indian Agency House at Sault Ste Marie. As chairman of the committee on architecture of the Historical Society of Michigan he has contributed much to the restoration and preservation of historic buildings in Michigan.

Mrs. Dortha Sheldon Bean condensed the Row family history, written originally by the "affectionate sons" of the Row family, that is used in the introduction of Mrs. Virginia Butler's Michigan stories. She is a neighbor of Mrs. Butler's, a former school teacher, and a descendant of Montana pioneers.

Virginia Williams Butler was born in Michigan in 1867. Incidents of her childhood were written during her 88th year at her home in California.

Arthur Pound has had a long association with the history of Michigan. Born in Pontiac, graduation from the University of Michigan, newspaper work in Grand Rapids and Detroit; this was the prologue for the production of many outstanding industrial pictures. His *The Turning Wheel: The Story of General Motors Through Twenty-five Years, 1908-1933* was reviewed in the 1934 issue of *Michigan History*.

M. Garnett McCoy, formerly reference assistant in the Burton Historical Collection, is now reference assistant in the history and travel department of the Detroit Public Library. He received his Bachelor of arts degree from the University of Virginia and his masters in library science at the Catholic University of America.

Mrs. Vivian Lyon Moore wrote the article on Irene M. Ayars which appeared in the March, 1954 issue of *Michigan History*. She also wrote the centennial history of Hillsdale College published by the Ann Arbor Press in 1944.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals are \$3.00 per year; to libraries and institutions, \$5.00. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in October, at which tours and talks on Michiganiana are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.